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ETHNOGENESIS AND ASSOCIATIONAL BEHAVIOUR: THE POLITICAL  
ORGANIZATION OF WELFARE IN ETHNIC COMMUNITIES IN BRISTOL

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Submitted for the degree of Ph.D.

University of Warwick, Department of Sociology

September 1982

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#### Acknowledgements

I would like to thank my supervisors at Warwick University, Professor John Rex initially, and later Dr Simon Frith for helping to translate an interest into a workable research project. Their assistance in clarifying issues and developing an approach to those issues was invaluable.

I would also like to thank the members of ethnic associations who participated in the study; Pat Cramond and Liz Davidson for their stamina and skill in typing the thesis; the students on the Diploma in Applied Social Studies course at Bristol Polytechnic, for their patience in having ideas worked out on them in their 'Social Work with Ethnic Minorities' course.

Without the encouragement and caring provided by Sue during the undertaking of this study, it would not have been completed, and I hope that the final product does justice to the effort she put in.

#### Declaration

The material contained in this thesis is the authors own and has not been submitted for consideration previously to any other Institution.



### Summary

This study is an attempt to assess the usefulness of the concept of ethnogenesis for describing changes occurring within ethnic collectivities, with particular reference to boundary negotiation processes between minority and majority groupings. It explores the nature of ethnic identification and suggests that there are distinct processes involved in the choice to identify with an ethnic group, and the desire to use this identification as the basis for undertaking public action based on that affiliation.

It explores the question as to whether there are differences between the structure and function of associations identified with an ethnic category and those identified with an ethnic group, and suggests that associations may provide a key to understanding boundary negotiation processes of group identity. The functioning of ethnic associations in Bristol is examined in some detail and conclusions offered on the relevance of different approaches to understanding these phenomenon, and on the viability of various options of ethnic political organization.

The role of associations in performing tension management functions in ethnic communities is noted, in the context of a critical appraisal of the notions of 'communal' associations and 'buffer institutions'. Examination of the internal tension management processes of ethnic associations is explored, and the central role of 'welfare' noted. It is suggested that this exploration reveals many deficiencies in the voluntary association literature in general and in the ethnic association literature in particular.

Problems of undertaking research in ethnic communities in terms of access difficulties are highlighted, as is the problem of studying processes. Areas for further study are identified.

## INTRODUCTION

The concept of ethnogenesis, although more than a century old (Moreau de Jonnes, 1861; Broca, 1874 (ii) : 508), and although used by Soviet anthropologists for some time (Bromley, 1934 : 18), has remained curiously unfashionable since its introduction into the mainstream of Western sociological literature nearly two decades ago (Singer, 1962). Although there is a great deal of interest in the process that it describes, that of ethnic group formation, this has generally been expressed as a question as to whether the last 20 years has been marked by a resurgence of ethnic consciousness (Burgess, 1978) or by the emergence of a qualitatively different sort of ethnic awareness as well as an actual increase of ethnic consciousness (Yancey et al, 1976; McKay and Lewins, 1978; Epstein, 1978).

As the concern has been with determining the existence of these phenomena, previous discussions of ethnic category and group behaviour have made little use of the concept of ethnogenesis, except where these discussions are also concerned with articulating the processes involved in ethnic group formation (Goldstein, 1975; Killian, 1975; Banton, 1977; Wan, 1979; Taylor, 1979).

Singer (1962) suggested that ethnogenesis began when a portion of the population becomes distinguished within the context of a power relationship or imputed intrinsic differences. Members of this distinguished population segment are 'assigned' to a particular social role and fate, and as they react to this, they become involved with one another and social structures develop among them. At this point, entity characteristics first become apparent, and as the group becomes aware of its commonality of fate, structuring increases. Further development is dependent on these structures and the content of the groups' self-image.

Clearly, there are two key features of this process. Firstly, it is necessary that a people acquire an increased consciousness of themselves as

a group rather than as a category; and secondly, that internal structuring is an important contributor to the boundary negotiation process initiated as a function of people changing their status from being members of a category to being members of a group.

The present study is an attempt to assess the utility of the concept of ethnogenesis in explaining those processes occurring in some ethnic communities in an urban area of Britain.

The question of the internal structuring of these communities will be explored by reference to associational behaviour, drawing particular attention to the role that such associations play in boundary negotiation between the ethnic community and the majority community, and in internal tension management at both a community and an individual level.

In focusing on the symbolic as well as the actual behaviour of ethnic associations, the study draws on, and extends the analysis of ethnic associational behaviour proposed by Rex and Moore (1967) and subsequently developed by Rex (1970, 1971, 1973, 1979) in the context of his formulation of the 'race relations situation'.

For Rex, a race relations situation is said to exist when three criteria are satisfied (Rex, 1970: 30, 160). Firstly, two or more groups with distinct identities and recognisable characteristics are forced by economic or political circumstances to live together in a society. Secondly, there must exist a high degree of conflict between the groups in which ascriptive criteria are used to mark out the members of each group in order that one group may pursue one of a range of possible hostile policies against the other. Thirdly, this practice of ascriptive allocation of roles and rights needs to be justified in terms of some kind of deterministic theory.

Rex notes (1970 : 132) that the groups do not form in the course of the conflict mentioned above, but that their existence is recognised as preceding the conflict, so that conflict positions are assigned in terms

of recognisable group characteristics. There are, however, two factors that this does not take adequate account of:

- (i) the negotiations that take place as a function of the conflict, and the resulting changes in group relationships, and
- (ii) the issues of how much power the majority group must maintain to enable it to continue to draw the lines of conflict according to its definition of group boundaries, when this power is under question or attack from the minority group.

The power shift involved in negotiations about group boundaries is a central feature of the process of ethnic group formation. In noting that "politics includes both a struggle for power and a struggle to limit, resist and escape from power" (Wrong, 1979 : 13), it is clear that an important task in assessing the usefulness of the concept of ethnogenesis in understanding ethnic group behaviour, is to determine the extent to which it contributes to an analysis of the politics of ethnic associational behaviour.

The question of how ethnic categories and groups mobilize internal resources, both for external struggle and internal maintenance, is also crucial to an understanding of the process of ethnogenesis, and the emphasis in this study will be on the latter, the role that ethnic associations play in their own communities, and will work from this, to a consideration of their role in external conflict management.

Again, although Rex has developed to a considerable degree a theory of the function of the ethnic association in terms of its contribution to the process of urban socialization of its members (Rox, 1971; Rex & Tomlinson 1975) at a general level there remain questions about the causality of ethnic associational behaviour. More specifically there are questions about whether, and to what extent, ethnic associational behaviour in the metropolitan situation is reactive or proactive. He comments that "... whatever the overt purpose of the various organizations and groupings which

exist, the likelihood is that they will continue to have a vigorous life because they will be fulfilling the functions of a conflict organization...", and notes that "whether we look at a church, a political, social or sporting club, an immigrant welfare association or the clientele of a public house or grocery, we may find that it may be pressed into service as a 'trade union', as a means of overcoming loneliness, as a value-affirming organization, or as a social work agency." (Rex, 1971 : 199).

We need to be able therefore, to determine how these functions contribute to tension management within the ethnic grouping and to conflict management between associations, and between the ethnic grouping and the majority society; and the extent to which these associations are the key to defining the stance of 'defensive confrontation' between blacks and whites, that Rex (1979 : 91) speaks of.

In drawing these threads together, Rex notes that the associations "deal with the stresses and strains which arise in personal relationships owing to migration, with problems of disadvantage in, and conflict with the society of the migrants' settlement, and they deal with problems of identity." (Rex and Tomlinson, 1979 : 244-5).

This concept of identity is crucial to the present study, for with it, we can explore the extent to which, in the pursuance of strategies of identity change and maintenance, ethnic group and associational structure is worked out, and in particular the way in which ethnic categories may transform themselves via associational activity into ethnic groupings, and as part of this, we can explore the form that such activity may take.

To summarize, the value of the concept of ethnogenesis in describing a process of group formation will be assessed, by reference to the boundary negotiation and change functions performed by ethnic associations in the course of interaction between ethnic categories and groupings and the majority society.

Attention will be directed to the real and symbolic functions of associations; firstly, as a way of assessing the relationship between associations and their constituent communities; secondly, in order to determine whether there is a direct correspondence between associational structure and function, and the degree to which entity characteristics are present or emerge in ethnic categories - and the extent to which this may differ from already existent ethnic groupings.

Attention will similarly be drawn to the way that associations, under different conditions manage the tension of having to fulfil different functions. As it has been suggested that these functions are basically social, political, or welfare related, an examination of internal tension management processes must account for the dynamic relationship between these functions.

While it is recognised that associations represent only one aspect of the social organization of ethnic communities, the present study should demonstrate the extent to which an understanding of associational behaviour may provide a key to understanding broader social processes occurring in those communities.

The first chapter will review the literature on ethnic group formation, and in so doing, will highlight the fact that ethnogenesis is a concept attempting to explain transitional and transactional behaviour. Some theoretical issues will be identified, such as how to distinguish between categories and groups; the conceptual tasks involved in linking the personal to the political in terms of behaviour of minority group members; the linking of individual and group level expectations of behaviour, and above all, the role that identity plays in these processes. The chapter will conclude by identifying a number of problems highlighted by the literature.

Chapter Two will present a review of the literature on voluntary associations generally, with a focus on the issue of participation,

particularly where this is related to identity enhancement as a function of participation. It will then review the more general literature on ethnic associations and the more specific literature on ethnic associations in Britain, with a focus on West Indian and Asian associations. This chapter will conclude by tying together the problems identified in Chapter One, together with this review, to develop a series of propositions on ethnogenesis and associational behaviour.

Chapter Three will present an introduction to the formal ethnic associations in Bristol, while Chapter Four will present a detailed analysis by taking these propositions from Chapter Two, and applying them to this data, and by drawing on evidence of ethnic community processes acquired over a five year period of observation.

Some conclusions will be offered in Chapter Five, on three main areas of the foregoing analysis - ethnic associations, ethnogenesis, and ethnic political behaviour, as we ask, 'What does the theory, and the evidence from this study, have to say about the utility of this approach for examining ethnic group processes and ethnic politics at a local level.'

Chapter Six will detail some problems identified in researching ethnic associations in terms of access, and the difficulty of studying a 'process' which by definition is yielding inconclusive data. This will be exemplified by a brief examination of the St Pauls 'riot' of April 1980, and the effect this had on the ethnic communities and associations. In addition it will offer some conclusions on the viability of research on associational behaviour in ethnic communities, and on challenges posed by this study, to existing theory, and will offer some guidelines for further research in this area.

## CHAPTER ONE

### ETHNOGENESIS

Ethnogenesis, as noted in the introduction, is an interactional theory of boundary change which assumes identity as a key variable in the process of ethnic group formation. This chapter will attempt to specify the detail of that process, in such a way as to make its political character explicit.

Starting with a consideration of the construction of ethnic identity at an individual level, the transformation of this individual identification into a group identification will be explored. This will be followed by a consideration of the mechanisms by which this group identification is used as a base for engaging in social action - of which bargaining over group identity and challenging the majority groups' power to define minority identity - is one of the most political expressions.

The material under consideration here is unavoidably complex, as it is necessary to distinguish not only between individual and group levels of ethnic identification and consciousness and the cognitive and affective dimensions of these different levels, but also to identify the pre-conditions in terms of stage of development of consciousness or awareness that would predispose the ethnic group member to social action, as a group member, rather than as an individual.

The argument presented here will be that there are two distinct processes in operation which firstly involve, as McKay and Lewins (1978) suggest, a shift from ethnic awareness, where ethnic identity is one source of identification, to ethnic consciousness, where ethnic traits are a more salient feature in the creation of an individual's identity. Secondly, although McKay and Lewins (1978 : 418) note that a "high level of ethnic identification does not necessarily entail group formation and group formation does not necessarily involve high levels of ethnic identification among all individuals", it will be argued that the group formation process



which may be typified as 'ethnogenesis' must be accompanied, not only by a high level of ethnic identification, but a conscious decision to utilise this identification within a strategy of boundary negotiation and change.

#### Individual Ethnic Identity Formation

Identity is characterised here as an aspect of social consciousness, where the manner in which an individual apprehends himself, his processes of consciousness and his relations with others - or psychological reality - is in an ongoing dialectical relationship with social structure. As Berger (1966 : 111) puts it, "Identity with its appropriate attachment of psychological reality, is always identity within a specific socially constructed world."

The crucial issue is that identity is an interactive phenomenon, or as Epstein (1978 : X111) suggests, "... ethnic identity formation ... is a function of the interplay of the internal and external variables as these operate within a given social environment ... The way in which it is generated is always a psychosocial process."

A second crucial aspect of ethnic identification that Epstein draws attention to is its affective dimension, or the "powerful emotional charge that appears to surround or to underlie so much of ethnic behaviour" (Epstein, 1978 : X1). It would be necessary in developing more fully a political psychology of ethnogenesis (Jackson, forthcoming), to stress in more detail the content of the affective component of ethnic identification. In this context, however, it is necessary to note that the model of ethnic identity developed here rests on the assumption that identity has both a cognitive and an affective dimension, as well as an individual and communal dimension.

Much of the concern in the literature on the social psychology of intergroup relations has been with the determining the relevance of ethnicity in determining the level of self-esteem found in minority peoples under

various social structural conditions, and the effect that self-esteem has on identity construction in particular, and on the nature of intergroup relations in those contexts, in particular (Silber and Tippet, 1965; Baugham, 1971; Hauser, 1971; Christmas, 1973; Coopersmith, 1975).

Many of these studies on black identity formation have often lacked clear construct level definition, and in many cases have used terms such as self-image, self-concept, self-esteem and self-perception interchangeably (e.g. Christmas, 1973). It is important, however, to be clear on the distinctions between these terms in order to develop a model of ethnic identity which takes account adequately of its constituent elements - affect and cognition.

Coopersmith (1975 : 147-148) suggests that self-concepts "are symbols that blend together the enormous number of varied perceptions, memories and prior experiences that are salient in the personal life of the individual... The self-concept is the symbol or image which the person has formed out of his personal experience whilst self-esteem is the person's evaluation of the image."

Self-esteem is presumed to reflect the approximation of the person's self-image - how he actually sees himself, with his own ideal self-image - how he would ideally like to be. Self-esteem therefore will vary as the discrepancy between actual and ideal self-image varies. We need to understand therefore the condition under which the ideal self-image is formed, and what strategies are open to the person faced with the discrepancy between actual and ideal self-image.

If self-esteem is regarded as "a concept of the self-system which regulates the extent to which the self system is maintained under conditions of strain, such as the processing of new information concerning the self", (Ziller, et al, 1969) then it may be argued that self-esteem is a self-social construct involving an interpretation of social reality by the person, and for the minority category or group member, the locating of

himself within an evaluative order.

Inasmuch as this is provided by a society which structures inter-group relations within a hierarchical framework, (Kuper, 1972) then this person's perception of his social as distinct from his personal worth is determined by way he perceives himself to be located in the hierarchy, which results from the majority groups' definition of minority group boundaries and the meaning attached to those boundaries. It would be expected therefore, that the self-image of the minority group member, derived from this social frame of reference would inevitably be a negative one, if he perceives himself to be placed in a low position in the hierarchy.

Recent research has failed to confirm however that minority group members do show lower self-esteem than majority group members. It could be argued from this, that even if this is not indicative of objective changes in the hierarchical relations between majority and minority groupings, then it may be a reflection of a change in subjective perception, in the field of comparison.

Crain and Weisman (1972) report that self-esteem can be measured as role-specific rather than simply as a global element of self-identity, and that for example on family roles, black and white samples show no difference in levels of self-esteem. These findings have been confirmed by Heiss and Owens (1972) who argue that self-esteem regarding family roles is not lower for blacks than whites, because role attainment in this area is not judged with reference to whites. Quite simply, in evaluating role performance, whites are not the significant others, or role models, but other blacks are. Baugham (1971) notes that because prior to the Civil Rights movement, in the U.S., and the 'black is beautiful' campaign, blacks acted subserviently, this did not necessarily mean they felt subservient, and questions whether blacks ever had lower self-esteem than whites. He argues that we must determine who the black child for example, uses as a reference group, noting that "this comparative process ... is central to

the concept that a child develops of himself." He contends that the black child compares himself with other black children, not white children, and that confrontation with the white world occurs for most black children "after the formation of their self-esteem has been established by their experiences in the black community". (Baugham, 1971 : 44, 45) <sup>(1)</sup>

It could be argued however, that although this may be true where role specific self-esteem is concerned, the development of self-esteem is always within the context of a social reality involving an evaluative hierarchy defined by the majority ethnic group. The task for the black child is to decide whether to accept the place allocated to him in the hierarchy or to set about challenging his place in the hierarchy. <sup>(2)</sup>

Although a low self - ideal self-discrepancy may be related to a defensive presentation of the self in a good light, (an attempt at defensively idealising the experienced self in order to avoid inner conflict) as argued by Binder, et al (1974), it is more likely to represent the operation of a 'system blame' rather than a 'self blame' technique for the minority group member coping with feelings of not measuring up to whites, when a comparison is made either in role specific or global terms.

An example of system blame in operation is offered by a 1967 study of 13-17 year old Carolina school children in a segregated school system. It was found that the mean self-esteem scores of blacks exceeded those of whites, but the black children had higher estrangement and cynicism scores than white children, suggesting that the black adolescent "may react to the disesteem in which he is held by interpreting this as an expression of pathology in the discriminator rather than an inadequacy in himself." (Baugham, 1971 : 50-51) and that the maintenance of positive self-esteem is coupled with a cynical orientation towards others.

A system blame, or a self blame orientation obviously will have differential effects on identity formation in minority group members and will affect critically the nature of the person's self-identity, and

hence any political activity which is undertaken in pursuit of identity change - where ethnic self-identity refers to the integration of ethnicity into the self-concept or self-image.

Faced with the social reality of minority ethnic status, it could be argued that ambivalence about racial identification is realistic and adaptive and not an indication of pathology. I would question Hauser's (1971) assumptions that whereas white adolescent identity formation is marked by progressive identity formation or growing integration and stability of self-image, the process in black adolescents - that of identity foreclosure, is necessarily problematic.<sup>(3)</sup> He argues that identity foreclosure represents an apparent sense of stability and purpose in identity formation, but that this is achieved only by avoiding alternatives. It could be argued though, that in the face of a circumscribed opportunity structure, identity foreclosure represents a healthy defence against potential feelings of low self-esteem and a diminished sense of self-worth, and in this sense, is a functional equivalent to a system blame orientation.<sup>(4)</sup>

The interactional context of the formation of individual ethnic identity, and within this, the generation of particular strategies for overcoming disesteem, also provides the forum for the translation of this individualistic phenomenon into a group context. As Isaacs (1975 : 35-36) argues, along with the generalised 'belongingness' of basic group identity, goes self-esteem, and it is the "need for self-esteem, the need to acquire it, feel it, assert it, that has in our own time ... become one of the major drives behind all our volcanic politics. The desire to self-assertion, to group pride, has fuelled all the nationalist movements that broke the rule of the empires."

#### Group Ethnic Identity Formation

The process of translating individual ethnic identity issues from their individual base to a group base is made clearer by an analysis of the tie

binding the individual to the group and this in turn, forms the first stage in the analysis of the broader process of ethnic group formation.

It will be argued here that the tie binding the individual to the group is an identificatory decision determined by the balance of costs and rewards accruing to the available alternatives. This conception of the individual/group tie, falls within the range of 'rational' approaches to ethnicity, as defined by Burgess (1978 : 267), who suggests that "people will emphasize ethnic allegiances as the most meaningful basis of identity when it is in their best social and economic interest to do so."<sup>(1)</sup>

Ethnicity is therefore not seen here in terms of primordial attachments but rather in terms of ethnicity and ethnic group definition as strategic decisions contributing to particular forms of social organisation. As well as falling within a 'rationalist' tradition, the approach offered here approximates the 'circumstantialist' explanation of the creation of ethnic identities offered by Glazer and Moynihan (1975 : 19-20) which argues that we must "... look to specific and immediate circumstances to explain why groups maintain their identity, why ethnicity becomes a basis of mobilization, why some institutions are peaceful and others are filled with conflict." One circumstance as will be outlined here, is the need to identify with an entity stronger than the self, when the self is under attack by a majority group power to define what is ideal, with subsequent allocation of the individual to a rank order position viz a viz that ideal, in a way that represents a negative evaluation of the minority group member.

It should be noted at this point that the issue of identification with an ethnic group is not a simple one, precisely because ethnicity is not a static factor in group or individual life, but is open to reinterpretation or negotiation. Moerman (1965) points to another difficulty in ethnic identification, in that non-members of the group may use ethnic classificatory terms differently, signifying that not all people recognise the same features as distinctive for ethnic classification. Although his

concern is with the question of how much change in defining criteria can occur before a people cease to exist in its own eyes, or those of others, the concern here is with the opposite process - how much and what type of change is necessary for a social group to be seen by itself and the majority grouping, as an ethnic group.

It will be suggested that identification with an ethnic group represents both a cognitive process in that social identity only acquires meaning by comparison with other groups, and through negotiation around group difference; and an affective process in that the psychological distinctiveness derived from a sequence of categorisation and comparison is given a positive value. The first task in the identificatory process is to be clear on just who is a member of which group, and this is at the heart of the categorisation phase. When we talk therefore of the strategic efficacy of ethnic identification, or the structural utility of different definitions of ethnicity then implicit is the fact that a prime function of the ethnic group is to make clear the 'we/they' or 'self/other' distinction. As Vincent (1974 : 376) puts it, "... the content of any group definition of 'self... determined both structurally in relation to 'other' and culturally in relation to the situation." Ethnic group identification is therefore a malleable group property which may alter as the situation demands, and in this sense we can talk of 'emergent ethnicity' (Yancey et al, 1976), but only if we take care to specify the conditions under which ethnicity will emerge.

Recent research supports this contention that ethnic identification is situation specific. Ethnic affirmation, or desire to be affiliated with ethnic group and ethnic denial, or a wish to disaffiliate with an ethnic group, have both been shown by Driedger (1976) to vary according to the degree of institutional completeness, or ability to maintain group boundaries. In this study, Driedger distinguishes between majority assimilators, ethnic identifiers and cultural marginals as three types representing different

stances to their own culture. This differential stance is determined by the degree to which they are able to control institutions within the group boundary. Situational factors thus clearly determine the type of relationship the individual will have to his own ethnic group.

Stymiest (1975) on the other hand, is less interested in the differences in the type of relationship a person may have with his ethnic group, and more concerned with the quality of that relationship. He distinguishes between degrees of ethnic group membership, talking of core and peripheral ethnics and argues that ethnic affiliation "pertains to the placing of people into different ethnic categories in the social consciousness" (Stymiest 1975 : 15). Hence, ethnic groups must imply ethnic affiliations; ethnic affiliations must imply a system of ethnic categories, and these in turn must imply ethnicity - they must at some point in time refer to perceived differences in culture and origin. His research into the relationship between non-native ethnics and Indians in Crow Lake supports the argument that strength of ethnic identification varies under differing conditions, and that for the non-native ethnics, ethnicity was not a "full-time" characteristic.

Identity was referred to earlier as an aspect of social consciousness, involving both cognitive and affective components, and in the context of this discussion, it is suggested that whereas self-esteem represents an affective input into identity formation, the perception of an ethnic structure represents a cognitive input.

In offering an approach to understanding race or ethnic structure as a component of social consciousness, Kuper (1970) characterizes social consciousness as those concepts, images, beliefs and evaluations that characterize certain milieux, common to people of a certain social environment. Conceptions of the race structure in social consciousness "... influence the course of race relations, and they may serve as an index of change, of social forces stimulating sharp conflict and polarization,



or contributing to harmonious adjustment and integration." (p.89)

Perception of the structuring of groups, in an evaluative hierarchy, represents a cognitive task for the minority group member, the resolution of which contributes to individual and group identity. This in turn acts back upon the general way that racial and ethnic groups are seen to be structured in the social consciousness. As Pitts (1974) suggests, this consciousness represents normative behaviour, in that it involves 'should' and 'ought' sentiments concerning racial and ethnic structure in that society, and as this consciousness is a social product, in order to understand the minority group member's behaviour in the process of identity bargaining and boundary negotiation, we need to be able to reconstruct the meaning to the individual of his group attachment as a public act.

Just as the individual is tied into the national system by motivation or affective factors, and cognitive factors, it could be argued that a similar process operates in attaching an individual to his ethnic group.

Firstly, the ethnic group, as a mode of social organisation, like the nation state, must be seen as a legitimate organisational device. It is legitimate "when it is perceived as having the right to exercise authority in a given domain and within specified limits" (Kelman, 1969 : 279). For the ethnic group, this authority lies in the sphere of identity formation, consolidation, and if necessary identity change, for the individual members.

At a nation state level, Kelman (1969) suggests that legitimacy depends on the extent to which the population perceived the regime as (a) reflecting its ethnic and cultural identity, and (b) meeting its needs and interests. Can this concept of sentimental (concerned with identity allocation to the group) and instrumental ('needs and interest') attachments be translated to the ethnic group level, in the context of an identity bargaining process?

It is possible, but not in this dichotomous form. If the concept of identity that the group members have of themselves is an unacceptable one, then the 'needs and interests' of the groups are going to relate to the

ability of the ethnic group as a mode of social and political organisation, to change that identity at the level of social structure, and inter alia, at the level of social consciousness. Legitimacy in this case depends therefore on the group being able to reward the member for choosing to identify with the group, in terms of its utility in the boundary negotiation and identity change processes.

It is also necessary to identify the ties that an individual has to a group, besides a perception of its being legitimate, and whether knowing this has any predictive value for group behaviour. In doing this, it is worth noting Stokes (1974 : 527-528) comment that, "... even if one should achieve a plausible theory, he must face the problem of how the individuals' behaviour becomes significant to the larger phenomenon which he is interested in, because psychic effects are experienced in individuals, not in abstract entities such as (large scale groups)". The task therefore is not only to understand the psychology of individuals, but also to explain how the affected individuals make their impact felt on the larger social body. While Schachters' (1959) proposition that an affiliative tendency is a manifestation of the need for self evaluation, is useful, it is necessary to find something finer than this, to assess group affiliation in some detail. Other writers (e.g. Stone, 1974) have noted the importance of ego factors in tying a person to his politics and political group. Indeed, Davies (1975 : 62) argues that "we take politics in by enlarging the boundaries of the ego, and of identifying our own futures with those of an external group: this involves a redefinition of identity, of the sense of self and of relevant ties."

It seems a negative social identity is not sufficient in itself for change - the minority group member must also recognise alternatives at a cognitive level. Tajfel (1969, 1970, 1974) suggests that two factors may contribute to this process - the perceived instability of the existing situation, and the perceived legitimacy of the alternative offered by

affiliation to an ethnic group.

The need to identify with a group and the resultant psychological distinctiveness and identity enhancement may be expressed in detail, through a re-evaluation of, and reaffirmation of distinctive cultural factors such as language (Giles, Bourhis & Taylor, 1977; Giles 1973, 1977) religion or custom. Whichever of these dominates, or whatever the varying strength of combinations of them, the important point is that the individual is identifying with an entity larger than himself, and in order to determine the functional utility of this identification we need to be clear on the meaning of the vehicle through which this identity is expressed - the ethnic group.

#### The Ethnic Group

In determining what an ethnic group is, Enloe (1973) notes that an ethnic group has a personal and communal dimension; that ethnic group membership involves a personal sense of belonging, and the operation of a cultural bond.

Similarly, Stymiest (1975) contends that there are three senses in which one may talk of the ethnic group. There is the objectivist sense in which an ethnic group is defined as a number of people with a common cultural heritage which sets them apart from others in a variety of social relationships. The subjectivist view is that a group with a shared feeling of peoplehood is an ethnic group. The crucial feature in this view is the characteristic of self ascription. Finally, the synthesist version is that an ethnic group is one in which there is a shared cultural heritage and a feeling of being a group - although Stymiest notes that this is a rather mechanistic synthesising which belies the looseness found in the actual structure of ethnic groups.

Other definitions of the ethnic group tend towards the synthesist variety. Barthes' (1969) ideal type definition of an ethnic group is of a

population which is largely biologically self-supporting, which shares fundamental cultural values, realised in overt unity in cultural forms, which makes up a field of communication and interaction and most importantly "has a membership which identifies itself, and is identified by others, as constituting a category distinguishable from other categories of the same order." (Barth, 1969 : 11).

As argued earlier, if ethnic groups are seen as a form of social organisation, then this notion of self ascription and ascription by others becomes the critical feature of definition, and "... to the extent that actors use ethnic identities to characterize themselves and others for purposes of interaction, they form ethnic groups in this organisational sense". (Barth, 1969 : 14)

With a somewhat different emphasis, Schermerhorn (1970 : 12) defines an ethnic group as "a collectivity within a larger society having real or putative common ancestry, memories of a shared historical past, and a cultural focus on one or more symbolic elements defined as the epitome of their peoplehood." Examples of symbolic elements he gives are kinship patterns, phenotypical features, and nationality. He does stress however, that a necessary accompaniment is some consciousness of kind among the members of the group.

Pulling together these strands, we arrive at the sort of usage of the term that Lyon (1972) suggests - that an ethnic group consists of people who conceive of themselves as being alike by virtue of a common ancestry, real or fictitious, and who are so regarded by others. He goes on however, to make a distinction between ethnic and racial groups, in terms of group boundary function within the context of majority-minority relationships in pluralistic societies. He argues that there is only an apparent similarity between ethnic and racial minorities. Ethnic identity, or distinctiveness, is usually recognisable by distinct cultural rather than physical signs, whereas often racial groups, although physically recognisable,

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do not have a separate culture.

"The crucial difference then is that racial boundaries are when necessary enforced from without, whereas the boundaries of ethnic minorities must be self maintained... 'race' is an excluded residual category; whereas ethnicity is based upon a cultural collectivity." (Lyon, 1972 : 256).

This approach argues that in the context of the cultural relationships between the racial and ethnic minorities and the host society, for the ethnic group, their structural separateness is voluntary and related to cultural distinctiveness, whereas for racial groups their structural separateness is a consequence of their social exclusion within a cultural framework which they share.

There seem to be two major difficulties with this approach however. Firstly, the use of the terms ethnic group and racial group, to denote two different types of relationship to the majority/minority boundary. Castles (1971) has suggested that for a group to exist, there needs to be interaction between the members, even if this only involves an awareness of, and a dedication to, the common purposes of the group. Collectivities without such common awareness may be described as categories. These include all individuals defined by a common characteristic but who are unaware of any social significance in their shared situation.<sup>(5)</sup> It would seem to make better sense then, to distinguish between ethnic groups and ethnic categories, where an ethnic category is defined as a category by the majority group, but which has no sense of itself as an entity beyond a recognition that it is set apart. In this sense, the difference between the two sorts of collectivity is based on whether the boundary surrounding them is internally or externally constructed and maintained, and on the degree of ethnic awareness that is evident in the collectivity.

The second difficulty in Lyons' formulation concerns his contention that the racial group represents an excluded residual category which shares

a common cultural framework with the majority grouping. This is a limited approach generally because of its narrow assumption of what constitutes a 'culture', and specifically because of its neglect of the historical dimension of culture formation. To assume that West Indians in the U.K. constitute a racial group because they share a common religion and a common language, is to ignore the historical facts of slavery and the effects of the pattern of migration determined by specific immigration legislation geared to the needs of the post-war labour market and the subsequent contraction of that market during periods of recession (Moore & Wallace, 1975 : Dominelli, 1978), on the structure and identity of that collectivity.

Wallman (1978) has also developed a critique of this approach to minority relations which rests on a distinction between 'racial group' and 'ethnic group'. She points out that as 'race' is not an objective difference but an effect of subject differentiation, it is difficult to distinguish between race and ethnicity as principles of classification. For her, ethnicity is "... a reaction occurring where two sets of people, or individual members of two sets of people, come into contact or confrontation with each other. It is a felt boundary between them which involves both difference, and the meaning put upon difference". (p.202) The task then, is to understand what these markers of difference are, and what they may mean under different conditions.

While there is agreement elsewhere that the terms ethnic group and ethnic category represent a better formulation of the fundamental difference between the two sorts of collectivities (e.g. Ballard, 1976), there are different views as to the centrality of 'culture', as a marker of difference in the analysis of ethnic group functioning, and formation. Francis (1976), having noted that ethnicity is generally latent, argues in the case of West Indians for example, that the ethnic group is a mechanism

through which ethnics interact as members of, and with, the host society. He talks of 'secondary ethnic groups' in this context and suggests that "whenever members of a parent society are transferred as individuals into a host society which is not isomorphic with regard to essential elements of the social structure, then the individuals transferred will not be able to take their place directly in the host society, and will therefore tend to form a secondary ethnic group." (Francis, 1976 : 225) He goes on to note that the secondary ethnic groups, begin with the creation of new institutions of their own, in which is expressed a sub-culture different from both the parent and host societies; and that they are functional from the standpoint of both the host society and the personality development of the ethnic group members.

While this is a useful advance on Lyons' argument, Francis' analysis of inter-ethnic relations in industrial society, particularly when he is attempting to explain the transition from category to group remains rather inadequate. It is inadequate because it does not provide a framework in which to assess the process of change, other than the above mentioned notion of the secondary ethnic group. It does not explain the mechanism whereby an individual ethnic category member chooses to identify and act in a public way as a member of an ethnic group, being prepared to engage in the process of realising entity characteristics. In addition the analysis fails to explain why, if the formation of secondary ethnic groups begins with the creation of new institutions, these institutions do not form the basis of a viable identity based on the perception of the legitimacy of alternative structures, which as suggested earlier is a source of the cognitive tie to an ethnic group. Under the conditions which transform a category into a group then for these people, their identity as ethnic group members is more likely to be a primary factor both in individual and group life, rather than a secondary characteristic, as suggested by Francis. Hence 'sub-culture' is elevated to the status of



'culturo'.

Brass (1976) argues that objective cultural differences are a necessary but not sufficient condition for the creation of ethnic 'communities', but again, like Francis does not specify how much difference, articulated under what conditions, is necessary to provide a source of legitimacy as an 'alternative structure'. He notes that ethnicity is a broadly occurring phenomenon in which group distinctiveness is articulated by for example, religion, language, territory and emotional content, and argues that the social salience and political significance of cultural distinctiveness varies over time, but does not specify the conditions under which this variance will occur. Using a subjectivist approach to ethnicity, in which it is characterised as "the sense of ethnic identity felt by the members of an ethnic community" (p.226), Brass offers a distinction between ethnic categories and ethnic communities.

A category, as in the other approaches outlined reflects an attributional definition in which membership of the category is indicated by clearly distinguishable cultural markers, but where the members place no value on these markers.

Ethnic communalism involves a collectivity which is objectively distinct and conscious of that distinctiveness, and which uses the symbols of distinctiveness to create internal cohesion and to differentiate itself from other similar order groups, including other ethnic groups. Ethnic communalism is seen as a type of identity formation, and has been defined as "the process of intensifying the subjective meanings of a multiplicity of symbols and of striving to achieve multisymbol congruence among a group of people defined initially by one or more central symbols or ethnic attributes." (Brass, 1976 : 227).

Having offered this useful distinction between ethnic categories and ethnic communities, or groups, Brass however provides an inadequate framework in which to locate the transition from category to community, even

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Having offered this useful distinction between ethnic categories and ethnic communities, or groups, Brass however provides an inadequate framework in which to locate the transition from category to community, even

though he notes that this involves not just a process of identity formation but of transformation, because it involves boundary change.

Banton's (1977) approach to these issues is to argue that "in determining membership or non membership (of an ethnic category) it is ... the groups boundary that is important, the minimal criteria of membership, rather than the characteristics of the group core and the attributes which signalize the ideal member." (p.19). His approach seeks to identify in the actions of individuals the processes resulting in the maintenance or change of group boundaries, and in this sense, is an attempt to link the micro and macro elements in this process of boundary change. This follows an earlier formulation in which Banton (1977 b:151) noted that "the level of ethnic consciousness is influenced by the action of individuals who seek to mobilize ethnic sentiment in order to achieve their goals, and these are frequently of a material kind."

In looking at category and group definition in terms of boundaries of exclusion or inclusion, we are able to look at the forces from both sides which define the social units involved, according to this approach, and this is particularly useful, as it recognizes both that ethnic consciousness is an individual and a group property, and that there is a mechanism whereby it is transformed from an individual property into a group property. As McKay and Lewins (1978 : 418) suggest, a "high level of ethnic identification does not necessarily entail group formation", so also, Banton's approach in part recognises that there are distinct phases in the process involved in ethnic identity becoming a basis of group formation with this formation in turn providing the base from which the politics of boundary change are pursued.

Thus far, it has been suggested that an individual faced with a negative self image and low self esteem may seek to enhance that self image by engaging in a process of identity transformation - a process which begins with an awareness that this status and self image is socially constructed.

The next stage is for the individual to identify with a larger entity or ethnic category and then to attempt to change the meaning of the boundary surrounding the category, so that it becomes not a boundary of exclusion around an ethnic category, but a boundary of inclusion around an ethnic group. In order to do this however, a distinct step is necessary, and that is for the individual ethnic group member to identify the ethnic group as a means of political expression. Although this does not necessarily mean that ethnicity is always political, it does mean that the process of boundary change is a political act in that it involves a fundamental power shift in respect of a group's ability to construct the meaning of its own boundary, and because of this it must involve a decision by the ethnic group member to act politically.

Any discussion of the boundary negotiation process must therefore be firstly located within a framework which clearly relates ethnicity to politics.

#### Ethnicity and Political Activity

The relationship between ethnicity and politics has been investigated from a number of different standpoints. There has been interest shown in the persistence of ethnic voting in contradiction to popularly held notions of the declining salience of ethnic identification (Wolfinger, 1965, 1966); the role of ethnicity in political socialization (Greeley, 1975); the role of ethnicity in political participation, organization and development (Daniel, 1969; Parenti, 1965; Rabushka and Shepsle, 1971, 1972; Doornbos, 1969, 1972; Schnall, 1975; Greenstone and Peterson, 1973); nationalism as a function of ethnic demands, and the question of ethnonationalism generally (Conner, 1973; Smith, 1979); ethnicity as a determinant of political process, in terms of conflictual or consensual politics (Drosang, 1971; Smith, 1971) as well as the more general question of the nature of political ethnicity itself (Parkin, 1974; Potryshyn, 1976).

While this material will be examined in more detail later, it is worth noting here that a major limitation of much of it is the narrow conception of both 'ethnicity' and 'politics' that it contains.

Wolfinger (1966 : 43) for example, defines ethnic politics as "situations in which ethnicity is an important consideration in the decisions made by voters and politicians. Ethnic politics flourish in those parts of the country where national origins are a salient dimension of individuals' perception of themselves and of others." This sort of definition is limited because it seems to conceive of ethnic identity in a static way, as somehow 'set' prior to engagement in politics and consequently as extrinsic to political activity. The argument being developed here however, is that ethnic identity both acts upon, and is acted upon itself by the politics that minority group members engage in, in those instances where political participation is motivated by the need for identity change.

The previous section outlined how an individual may be tied to the ethnic group, but as mentioned earlier, we need to know what is involved generally in tying an individual into group activity, particularly when that group activity is expressed as political participation.

Parry (1972) suggests that political interest, knowledge and a sense of efficacy are involved in the decision to participate, while Smith (1966) specifies the presence of a sense of trust, low cynicism and a sense of efficacy as essential to determining active group membership, as opposed to passive group membership. Martikainen (1975) on the other hand, in a general study of political activity, concluded that the strongest subfactor within a total concept of political activity was the cognitive component, or knowledge of the other parties involved, and more broadly, knowledge of social structural conditions.

Litt's (1963) research on a Boston sample would seem to add a rider to Smith's (1966) observations, as he reports that, although there was a correlation between feelings of trust and a sense of political efficacy,

there was no observable correlation when degree of trust was compared with expressed political cynicism. He concluded that feelings of political cynicism may have different origins than the belief that an individual may not make his voice heard in the determination of public affairs. (6)

It is clear from these studies that there is both an affective and a cognitive component in the individuals' decision to participate politically, and perhaps trust and efficacy are part of the affective factor while political cynicism is related more closely to the cognitive element.

For the minority group member who participates politically, it could be suggested that the affective elements of trust and a sense of efficacy are not related to formal political or governmental referents, but are related to the perceived political capabilities of the ethnic group itself, in its function as a mode of social and political organization. In the same way the cognitive component is determined by group membership, as consciousness of being a group member entails at least a minimal understanding of who the parties will be in any conflict, as it defines for the group member the boundaries between the majority and minority group.

When Parkin (1974 : 149) comments that "some kind of formal association structure would seem to be a necessary condition of actual materialization," the approach taken here would suggest that the ethnic group itself can provide that degree of structure in the perception of its constituents. In this sense the approach differs from that of Rubin (1975) who, in characterizing ethnic identification as a search for community, equates this community with an organizational entity such as a club. This is too limiting as a total representation of what identification is about, as for instance, it fails to account for groups where political activity will be outside the framework of 'normal' politics - separatist and radical politics, as opposed to integrative politics and hence activity which may not always be accessible to formal organizational patterning.

Thus, the present study, while taking ethnic associations as a major focus of study, locates this within a framework of the broader processes of change occurring in the ethnic communities under investigation, but obviously part of the task of the study is to examine the differential nature of the tie to politics of various segments of those communities - the extent to which different 'degrees of ethnicity' contribute to different levels of political awareness, and to variation in the strength of the tie to both the ethnic group and to politics generally.

Thus, research findings which suggest that socioeconomic status may be a stronger predictor of participation for minority groups than ethnic identity, (London, 1975; Daniel, 1969; Wilson, 1973) could be accounted for generally by the fact of differential group affiliation and specifically the fact that for marginal ethnic identifiers, other aspects of their social identity may very well predict better to their political behaviour than their ethnicity. What always needs to be made clear in any analysis of ethnicity and politics, is the degree of affiliation involved. Not to do this can lead to serious errors of interpretation. Antunes and Gaitz (1975) for example, although concluding that ethnicity accounted for more variance than social class or age in rates of participation of blacks, were led to underestimate the degree of variance because of the conception of ethnic identification used. They write, "to measure the ethnic identity variable for our sample of over 900 black and Mexican-American respondents, we used the statement, 'For a limited time, minority groups should be given special privileges because of past disadvantages and discrimination.' Those who agreed were classed as ethnic identifiers" (Antunes and Gaitz, 1975 : 1203-1204).

This is too shallow a conception of ethnic identification and represents only a minimal level of identification with an ethnic group, which must have influenced the magnitude if not the direction, of their findings.

Having now noted some of the affective and cognitive aspects of the desire to participate politically, and some of the affective and cognitive

elements in the affiliation of an individual to an ethnic group, it is worth examining more closely the relationship between ethnic identity and political activity, as a way into beginning to understand boundary negotiation as an aspect of ethnic political behaviour which most clearly signalizes the existence of a process of ethnogenesis.

Wolfinger (1965) has argued that ethnic voting, or the crossing of party lines to vote for or against a candidate belonging to a particular ethnic group, is a persistent feature of American politics, and that people resort to ethnic voting behaviour when faced with ambiguous issues.

Ethnicity in this case is used as a cognitive device, with which to order confusing data, but it does not necessarily mean that ethnicity is in itself political, even under these conditions. Enloe (1973) in fact, has argued strongly that ethnicity cannot be primarily political, and that politics can only ever be the basis of a secondary bond at group level. Even if ethnicity is primarily a social or cultural bond however, that does not preclude its being expressed mainly in a political form, specifically under conditions of negotiation on group identity and the group boundary, as suggested by Petryshyn (1976 : 1), who, notes of Ukrainians in Britain that "there has been a relationship between political behaviour and the inheritance, emergence and development of ethnic behaviour".

Thus, whether or not ethnic identification is a transitional basis of group organization, to be supplanted by class based collectivities, as argued by Hechter, (1971) it is clear that under some conditions, ethnic identification becomes the basis for political action. Groenstone and Peterson (1973) suggest that the political expression of 'black factional interest' has been concerned with the equalization of life chances; the achievement of full citizenship and the abolition of the imputation of inferiority, and that these aspects either in sequence or separately provide the conditions under which ethnic identification directly determine the mode of political expression.



Black nationalism, for example, is seen as representing a shift away from political rights to a direct attack on black inferiority, and that Black Power, in expressing a need to build a distinctive black identity, was a clear statement that political conditions would not be sustained on a moral, friendly, or sentimental basis, but that political relations were based on self interest. In this case, the exclusive self interest of the ethnic group, or the ethnic category in the process of becoming an ethnic group.

Kuper (1971) has suggested that ethnic identity becomes the basis for political organization in societies characterized by a high degree of pluralism in which social differentiation is elaborated into an encompassing principle - that is, where group boundaries are drawn by the majority grouping on the basis of excluding the ethnic category. The structural basis of this process would seem to be 'differential incorporation', or a system of social stratification in which ethnic segments or categories are incorporated into the society on a basis of inequality, and the impetus generated by this condition is towards a change in social status, which may be expressed in political activity.

Acceptance of an identity as an ethnic group member necessarily involves, for those in transition from category to group, a recognition of the fact that some aspect of one's identity has been defined from without as unacceptable, and to a greater or lesser extent, this negative evaluation has been incorporated into the group members' evaluation of themselves. It is a perceived, as well as an objective inequality that contributes towards the development of political strategies for identity change.

This is not to suggest that in all cases when minority group members engage in political activity, that this activity is necessarily ethnic politics, but that the identity reversal politics of boundary change and category to group transition is probably the clearest example of politics being determined directly by ethnicity.

It was noted earlier that ethnicity as an identificatory component becomes most salient under conditions of confusion and ambiguity concerning data to be assimilated by the individual. Litt (1970) goes further than this, in arguing that the political salience of ethnicity is usually strongest in crisis situations, especially when an ethnic group is making a concerted and dramatic bid for political power, when "the saliency and psychic investment in ethnic politics determines its political impact upon the community." (p.18)

Refining this observation, Hechter (1974) argues that there are two distinct approaches to understanding the role of ethnicity in political change, which stem from different understandings of the nature of ethnicity.

The functionalist theory argues that ethnic identification is a primordial sentiment emanating in relatively undifferentiated social settings. These are essentially parochial ties which should be superseded by attachments having a more universalistic scope. Therefore, according to this theory, ethnicity should lose much of its salience in a system of stratification, and in the determination of political behaviour, barring of course, the entry of new ethnic groups into the system through conquest or migration. Political associations come to be formed by individuals of similar market situations rather than on the basis of an actual, or presumed cultural commonality.

The reactive theory of ethnic change on the other hand, posits that ethnicity arises from the salience of cultural distinctions in the system of stratification. The suggestion is that ethnic solidarity is a function of a cultural division of labour, given that such a cultural division may exist regardless of the level of structural differentiation. Cultural division of labour refers here to the salience of objective cultural distinctions in the distribution of occupations and rewards.

Although working from a very narrow definition of ethnic identification ('ethnic solidarity may be indicated by the extent to which objective

cultural distinctions account for the aggregate voting behaviour of groups'), Hochtter concludes that for the Celtic fringe in Britain at least, cultural factors generally explain more of the variance in voting than do structural factors, a finding obviously in conflict with the functionalist explanation of the role of ethnicity in politics. Ethnicity is therefore thought to be more salient in the determination of political activity when allocation of resources is made on the basis of cultural distinctiveness.

An ethnic collectivity attempting in the short term a change in the way that cultural distinctiveness is perceived, and in the long term, how cultural distinctiveness is used, should undertake political activity as the preferred form of group behaviour, according to this argument.

Therefore, although it has been found (Jaros and Grant, 1974) that low levels of self esteem predict to a withdrawal from social interaction, and avoidance of group activities, it could be argued, as has been suggested earlier, that an alternative reaction to the low self esteem which attends the unequal distribution of power and resources is to engage in political activity to enhance self esteem.

It may be in some cases, as Freyre (1966 : 11) says, that this political activity is behaviour which is "... partly political but partly non political; social psychological rather than political, and as such, an expression in some cases, of so crude an anxiety, a fear, a frustration, an insecurity that very little style of political behaviour is characteristic of it; and also very little rationalization on a political level".

While this clearly captures some of the sentiment that fuels the ethnic political activity that is the concern of this study, in drawing such a sharp distinction between what is 'psychological' and what is 'political', it obscures the nature of the dynamic relationship between these two aspects, and very importantly does not allow for the role that identity plays in linking those aspects.

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Just as limiting is Bakor's (1975) argument that a groups' behaviour is predominantly based on its appraisal (whether valid or not) of two factors: a) its assessment of its own resources and resource mobilization capabilities, and b) its assessment of other groups' resources and resource mobilizing capabilities.

This is limiting because it assumes a degree of rationality that may often be absent from some episodes of ethnic group political behaviour and can assume too great a degree of programming in the politics of a group primarily involved in meeting the psychic and resource equalization needs of reworking an unacceptable identity.

This is not to say however, that group members do not go through a process to some extent, of sizing up the costs and benefits involved in group mobilization and to understand this process a little better, it is worth considering some of the propositions regarding group organization for political action, suggested by Black (1974) in his discussion of urban politics.

He suggests that the expected costs of organizing for collective action will be an increasing function of the number of groups, factions, and minorities found in the community. Further, if the average level of information of the citizenry in a community is a decreasing function of the size of a community, then the cost per unit of organization will be marginally increasing.

As well as the cost of mobilizing, a groups' response to potential conflict will also be a function of the net difference between the value of 'winning' and the cost of 'losing' or the probability that the participation of the group will alter the likelihood that the group will attain its preferred outcomes. In addition to specifying some of the conditions of viability of collective action, these observations alert us to the fact that ethnic minorities in themselves are not monolithic entities and will manifest a range of beliefs and tactics concerning

political action. They also suggest that there is a two step process of engagement for the ethnic group member. Firstly, they have to go through this cost-benefit analysis to decide whether, and to what extent, to affiliate with the group as a public act, and then to decide whether to use this group membership as a base for political activity. It was suggested earlier, in the discussion on affiliation to an ethnic group, that the ethnic group as a mode of social organization, must be seen as a legitimate organizational device which offers an alternative source of attachment to its members. The impact of the decision to affiliate with the group and to use it as a base for political action is therefore at the level of a questioning of the sources of attachment to, and the sources of legitimacy of the political and cultural system from which they seek to associate by an emphasis on distinguishing criteria of self-exclusion.

The questioning of majority group legitimacy becomes then, a crucial feature of boundary change. Doornbos (1972 : 276) recognises that "... the identity issue appears to be of political consequence... through its effects upon legitimacy", while Katznelson (1973 : 471) goes further, in characterizing radical ethnic politics as a process developing "a group corporate consciousness that stands in contradistinction to the false consciousness of legitimacy that makes people comply in their subordination".

The power that previously resided in the majority group, to define the identity of the ethnic category, is in this way challenged and transferred (in part) to the minority group such that they now take this power of group definition for themselves. The pay off for the group engaged in the process of ethnogenesis is therefore an increase in psycho-political power, a power which "provides identity, motivation, determination and ... seems to unify and impel a group to reaffirm its selfhood" (Gurian, 1975 : 40).

It should be noted before considering in more detail the boundary negotiation process, what options are being rejected, if this 'ethnic organisation' process is adopted as the preferred form of political

organization.

Lawrence (1974) suggests that there are three options, in terms of processes, open to West Indians and Asians in particular. There is a class unity process, an ethnic organization process and a black unity process, and he notes that the first and third of these are unlikely in the short term, but suggests that they show the need to account for the non conventional politics of voluntary associations and trade unions.

Looking in some detail at the black unity and ethnic organization options, Miles and Phizacklea (1977) suggest that the black unity process is the least likely of the three options to occur, as the very factors promoting ethnic organization mitigate against black unity, as the emphasis is on distinctiveness. They point also to the heterogeneous nature of both West Indian and Asian communities which may lead to cross ethnic prejudice and hostility, as a further limiting factor.

In the ethnic organization process, "... members of ethnic strata may pursue their political interests on an ethnic basis; that is to say that they believe that a specified political goal can be best attained by organizing and acting with other individuals who are defined as belonging to the same ethnic group". (p.495)

In arguing that for West Indians at least, political mobilization along ethnic lines is a possibility, Miles and Phizacklea differ strongly from Lyon (1972), who as noted earlier, in making a distinction between ethnic and racial groups (rather than ethnic groups and ethnic categories, as suggested here) suggested that West Indians as a racial group were not capable of pursuing an ethnic political line. Miles and Phizacklea suggest rather, that "... it is the struggle against racial exclusion by West Indians that has both stimulated and reinforced ethnic attributes which may not have been recognised as such prior to migration" (p.495)

The 'emergent ethnicity' identified in this ethnic organization process is exactly that group property which has been identified thus far as

providing the motive force for, and as being in turn affected by the boundary change process involved in the transition of ethnic categories into ethnic groups.

#### Boundary Change Processes

Having noted that the concern here is with boundary change, it is worth starting by clarifying what 'change' may mean in this context. In a minimal sense, change can mean the consolidation of a previously rudimentary boundary, or as a maximal expression, it may mean the transformation of an ethnic category into an ethnic group. As the boundary construction and maintenance processes involved in these changes involve a group choosing "to emphasise ethnic identity, using it to develop new positions and patterns to organize activities in those sectors formerly not found in their society" (Barth, 1969 : 33), the mode of organization for persual of these ends can vary, but as suggested earlier, such activity is necessarily political.<sup>(2)</sup>

Le Vine and Campbell (1972) note of boundaries, that they are drawn according to various criteria which derive from principles of perceptual organization. These include similarity, common fate, boundary impermeability, folk concepts of clusters of people, and folk values concerning group boundaries.

As they use a systems approach, Le Vine and Campbell describe their theory of boundary construction as an intersystem theory, but it is not necessary to use a systems approach to accept its principle argument - that these boundary defining criteria all derive from interaction processes. They are not unilateral defining mechanisms. As Rothschild (1970 : 598) puts it, "The existence of self conscious collectivities is clearly a precondition for intercommunal reciprocity. Once the foundation is set for such interaction between self conscious collectivities ... boundaries may acquire a tenuous, self sustaining quality."



It could be argued however, that those boundaries do and must acquire a self sustaining quality, as the primary function of an ethnic boundary is to emphasise discontinuities in the classification of groups. Further, minority groups, through their interaction with the majority group are placed in a hierarchical order or encompassed within an 'us' and 'them' framework, (Tambs-Lyche, 1973) or what Ruth Glass has termed, an 'insider-outsider' framework, of group differentiation.

Barth asserts that the nature of continuity of ethnic units clearly depends on the maintenance of a boundary:

"The cultural features that signal the boundary may change, and the cultural characteristics of the members may likewise be transformed, indeed, even the organizational form of the group may change - yet the fact of continuing dichotomization between members and outsiders allows us to specify the nature of continuity, and investigate the changing cultural form and content."

He goes on:

"... the ethnic boundary canalizes social life - it entails a frequently quite complex organization of behaviour and social relations - ethnic groups only persist as significant units if they imply marked differences in behaviour, i.e. persisting cultural differences, (therefore) the persistence of ethnic groups in contact implies not only criteria and signals for identification, but also a structuring of interaction which allows the persistence of cultural differences."

Thus in all interethnic social encounters there exist systematic rules, one of the most important for boundary maintenance being a level of agreement between the majority group and the minority group on the fact of the boundary and at least a minimal level of agreement as to its meaning as a process of differentiation.

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On the persistence of the ethnic boundary, Barth notes that, "when one traces the history of an ethnic group through time, one is not simultaneously, in the same sense, tracing the history of 'a culture' : the elements of the present culture of the ethnic group have not sprung from the particular set that constituted the groups' culture at a previous time, whereas the group has a continued organizational existence with boundaries (criteria of membership) that despite modifications have marked off a continuing unit" (Barth, 1969 : 14, 15-16, 38).

In a similar manner, Wallman (1978), writing from the standpoint that boundaries are both situational and symbolic, comments that, "if ethnicity is examined as a social boundary system, it is possible to account for shifts in its 'edge' by contextual changes in the criterion of inclusion, and to explain the persistence of ethnic boundaries by the maintenance of those criteria as system-preserving resources". (p.205).

So far, it has been suggested that boundary maintenance is a persisting activity, governed by rules, which fulfils a normative function in depicting the majority groups' conception of the hierarchical ordering of ethnic groups within that society. Further, these rules have arisen out of interaction processes. In this sense, we can talk of a bargaining or negotiation process in boundary construction and maintenance. To talk of negotiation about the boundary however, is not to imply that the parties involved in the negotiation process operate with the same level of bargaining power.

It is necessary to note at this point also that whereas in the 'usual' situation, the ethnic boundary may change, as Wallman suggests, due to contextual changes in the criteria of inclusion, the ethnogenesis process involves change as a result of negotiation about the meaning of the boundary.

Wallman (1978), in suggesting that boundaries will emerge when they need to, as a product of both perception and structure, suggests that those

boundaries have two kinds of meaning. Firstly, a structural or organizational meaning, in which the boundary marks the edge of a social system in terms of delineating the interface of this system and those contiguous upon it. The boundary in this sense marks changes in the relationship between groups. Secondly, an identity element marks the significance given to those changes, and expresses the participants' relationship to it. Any negotiation about the meaning of ethnic boundaries will necessarily have to cover both of these types of meaning.

Having noted that boundary maintenance is negotiable, does it make sense to talk of boundary change in terms of it being a negotiable aspect of inter ethnic relations? Rothchild (1970) suggests that there exist both negotiable and non negotiable boundary situations. Non negotiable situations being those in which forcible domination has occurred, for example slavery, and in colonial situations. In non negotiable situations, boundary change must occur as a unilateral movement towards change, on the part of the minority ethnic group, utilizing a higher degree of political consciousness (and where the change occurs through political activity, a higher degree of political organization), than is needed simply for boundary maintenance.

On this aspect of boundaries and identity change, Horowitz (1975 :137) writes that, "there seems to be a kind of 'Parkinsons' Law' at work by which group identity tends to expand or contract to fill the political space available for its expression". This does not allow however, for groups deliberately setting about increasing their political power and challenging the consensus which establishes and maintains hierarchical relations between groups, in order to further identity change, under conditions where this identity has been defined primarily from outside the group.

This political dimension is also neglected by Lyman and Douglas (1973) in their discussion of collective and individual impression management by ethnic group members. Having noted that there is a need for rules governing

intorgroup interaction, Lyman and Douglas remark that this need usually results in racial and ethnic stereotypes, the content of which constitutes a definition of peoples and situations, while the attitudes contained in them make up orientations which actors feel obliged to take.

Anxiety results from non reciprocal structures of emphasis and priorities about similar stereotypes employed by members of the ethnic groups - there is often a high degree of consensus about the general character of stereotypes, but widespread disagreement about the relevance and rank order of values and sentiments within each stereotype. As suggested earlier, under certain conditions the minority ethnic groups' perception of the relevance of group defining characteristics often differs from the majority groups view. Hence the minority group attempts some form of collective impression management, as it seeks to defuse potentially dangerous, and generally unacceptable aspects of the stereotypes.

One strategy outlined by Lyman and Douglas, for the ethnic group in this position, is to redefine the majority groups' relationship to the ethnic group, for example as an oppressor or exploiter, rather than as a co-participant in a pluralist society. Although they comment on the importance of ethnic boundaries residing more in their viscosity and mutability than their persistence thus drawing attention to the relative importance of boundary change over boundary maintenance, their suggested strategies still lack a clear political perspective. Omission of an adequately specified political dimension seems largely due to a failure to draw on the key variable of identity, and hence to identify the processes of motivation to identity change and boundary change.

#### Summary

It was suggested in the introduction that ethnogenesis began when a portion of the population becomes distinguished within the context of a power relationship or imputed intrinsic differences. As the members of this population segment react to the social role and fate that they are

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assigned they become involved with one another and social structures develop amongst them; entity characteristics become apparent and structuring increases. Further development is dependent upon these structures and the content of the groups' self image.

It has been suggested in this chapter that the key to understanding this process lies in the analysis of the role played by identity. Firstly, we must understand the cognitive and affective dimensions of individual identity formation, and note the particular characteristics of identity construction in the ethnic group or category member. Secondly, it has been argued that there is a distinct process involved in the translation of the individual ethnic identity into a consciousness of being a member of the group. Although there is some disagreement in the literature about it, it was noted that the difference between an individual and a group ethnic identity reflected a qualitative difference in the level of ethnic consciousness with ethnicity held to be more salient in the group identity situation.

Finally, it was suggested that a distinct process was involved in the decision to use that ethnic group membership as the basis for social action, specifically action which reflects an attempt to rework an externally defined and unacceptable identity. The psychopolitical power that results from this process was identified as then contributing to higher levels of self esteem at an individual level.

This framework which specifies in some detail, not only the process of ethnogenesis, but which makes fine distinctions between individual and group level aspects of the process, is some advance on the concept as presented in the literature. This is primarily because although the literature makes clear that there is a movement from one state to another in terms of interaction between majority and minority groups, it does not specify the detail of that process, or suggest what the minimal levels of change are that enable us to say of a situation "a process of ethnogenesis

has occurred here".

This seems to be the most fundamental difficulty with the concept - what is enough change, and how best should that change be measured?

One aspect of this, is that as mentioned earlier some reference to clearly distinguishable ethnic markers such as cultural factors is necessary in making a clear distinction between ethnic categories and ethnic groups, but again the question arises as to how strong such markers must be, and in those terms, what makes for the viability of the group.

The task of being specific on these areas is made a little easier if the 'population segment' that becomes distinguished is a segment of an ethnic category and not the whole ethnic category. If it is only a part of the category undergoing this change process, then one approach is to look at the social, political and organizational behaviour of that group, or category portion in transition, and say how that is different from the behaviour in those areas of the ethnic category as a whole. This still does not suggest in itself however, how we recognise when enough change has occurred.

A more particular approach, and the one adopted here, to cope with this difficulty is to use the above approach, but to concentrate on the internal structuring aspects, by reference to ethnic associations. It will attempt to assess whether the process is observable and verifiable as well as quantifiable in the sense of saying "enough change has occurred", by looking at the structure and function of ethnic association and relate this information on structure and functioning to the ethnic community generally. Basically the question becomes then, "can we tell if and when a process of ethnogenesis is occurring or has occurred by examining the structure and function of ethnic associations?"

In order to do this, it is necessary first to outline in some detail what we know of ethnic associations particularly as regards the role that they play in identity enhancement as they operate at the interface between



the ethnic group category and the majority group.

## CHAPTER TWO

### ASSOCIATIONS

It was noted in the Introduction that the concept of identity was crucial to an understanding of the extent to which, in the pursuance of strategies of identity change and maintenance, ethnic group and associational structure is developed, and in particular the way in which ethnic categories may transform themselves via associational activity into ethnic groupings. If associations are to be viewed as suggested here, as occupying a central role in the process of ethnogenesis, then it is clear that changes in associational structure and function will need to be related to these broader processes of change within categories and groupings.

As noted earlier however, the exact relationship between associational activity and ethnogenesis may be obscure with the lack of clarity evidenced mainly in the difficulty involved in determining the point at which enough internal structuring can be said to have occurred so that ethnogenesis is deemed to be taking place or to have taken place. We need to know how much of the associational behaviour is proactive and actually initiates or enhances the boundary negotiation process characteristic of ethnogenesis, and how much is reactive and is itself determined by the changes taking place at the boundary. Obviously this is not an either/or relationship in which associational activity is either proactive or reactive, but the difficulty of specifying the dynamic relationship between these two processes cannot be underestimated.

It may be argued that if the focus of interest is on an interactional process, that there is no need to separate out proactive and reactive elements - that it is simply enough to note that the interaction process necessarily assumes a dynamic relationship between these elements. If however as here, the suggestion being made is that ethnic groups in formation experience a different relationship at the interface or boundary of the majority and minority systems, than do groups already formed, then the

nature of the difference between the two formations must be explained.

This chapter will review what we know generally of ethnic associations to determine firstly whether this difference is explained in the literature, and secondly if this is not explained, does there exist in the literature the basis for an explanation of this sort. It will start with a review of some general issues concerning voluntary associations, with a particular emphasis on participation. Following this a review of ethnic associations in general will locate differences and similarities between these and voluntary associations generally. A review of material on Asian and West Indian associations in Britain will follow, after which a number of propositions will be suggested, which attempt to draw together some of the points made in Chapter 1, with this material.

#### Voluntary Organizations and Participation

Participation in the context of voluntary association membership may be seen both as descriptive of a particular social process consistent with associational activity, and as representative of a particular value stance, which generates different and not always compatible views of participation and which reflects different relationships between 'participation' and 'voluntary associations'.

In one view, participation is seen as a goal in its own right. This view assumes that in an urban context where associational ties are weak and individual citizens feel distanced from political decision making, even on a neighbourhood level, then participation in voluntary associations can restore a sense of involvement. Phrases such as 'local initiative', 'shared

responsibility' (Hondriks, 1972) and 'maximum feasible participation' (Moynihan, 1969), capture this meaning. In this view, the structure and particularly the function of associations is not as relevant as the fact that they provide a context for channelling the need for ties among people, and for increasing individual decision-making capabilities (Biddle and Biddle, 1965; Batten, 1967; Leos, 1972).

Contrasting with this is a view of participation as a means for achieving concrete programmatic ends - but also as a constant unvarying means (Ross, 1967; Foskett, 1959; Whitaker, 1968). In this view 'democratic values' require self-determination and the broadest possible involvement of affected communities in the development and enactment of policies and programmes. Maximising participation therefore represents a fundamental philosophic creed. It is assumed also that only those programmes which are determined by citizens will be vigorously carried out. That is, when people take part in decision affecting their lives they will support the resulting public policies and programmes (Seeborn, 1968). Participation in this view is correlated with effective policy and programme implementation, and as such predicts to no particular orientation towards voluntary associations. They may be used as the means whereby citizen decision making is made regular and may become in this sense a forum, or provide the context for a form of community consultation. Typically however, these associations will either be sanctioned as 'legitimate' in the sense that they are 'representative' of the affected community to be consulted, or they are deliberately created as context for citizen decision making. The most important feature of this view however, is that associations are seen to have a functional value at a more abstract, philosophical level, and not necessarily a functional value at the level of individual ties to the association.

The association, as well as participation is thus seen as a means to an end and as such as an indirect expression of entity characteristics and

as an important determinant in itself of wider group structuring.

A third view of participation is even more pragmatic than this, and the furthest removed from the view of participation as a moral and political ideal. In this view, participation is seen to be a conditional means, to be employed selectively for particular goals and under specified circumstances (Gamson, 1965). Not all valued social objectives, this approach would suggest, can be achieved or maximized through broad participation, and indeed, raising the level of community involvement may even have a negative impact on some programmes (Rothman, et al, 1976). The voluntary association in this view is seen as generally having a short life span and as being narrowly focused around particular issues. Membership is contingent upon the desire to obtain usually short term and specific goals.<sup>(3)</sup>

Just as participation, seen as an end in itself, as an unconditional means to an end and as a conditional means to an end, predicts to different views of the function of the voluntary association, two related notions lead to similar differences in the conception of what voluntary associations are about. These are concerned with the relationship between benefits - in terms of rewards and satisfactions - and participation; and the distinction between instrumental and expressive goals and types of organization.

Although Blau and Scott (1962) suggests a method of analysing a voluntary organization by asking "who benefits" from the associations functioning, the approach taken here is to ask not only who benefits - the members, or a broader target constituency, but most important, 'how people benefit'.

Research on voluntary associations generally confirms the common sense proposition that the amount of participation in these associations varies directly with both the number of benefits offered by an association and the degree to which the benefits are contingent upon participation (Schneiderman, 1964; Seals and Kolaja, 1964; Weissman, 1966; Warner and Hefferman, 1967).<sup>(4)</sup> In addition this research offers some refinements and elaborations of this

observation and suggests that there are four important sources of benefit that community oriented associations can exchange for members contributions. These are achievement of specific goals, rewarding goal-achievement procedures, rewarding structural devices such as formal office, and membership of informal cliques (Weissman, 1966). In addition, it is suggested that low socio-economic status participants show more interest in participating in activities that have direct immediate benefits rather than in long term activities with long term pay-offs (Schneiderman, 1964) and that they prefer activities that provide opportunities for spontaneous, expressive behaviour (Seals and Kolaja, 1964; Schneiderman, 1964).

This shorter term 'expressive' orientation in contrast to a longer term 'instrumental' orientation, has been noted elsewhere as either a barrier to the development of long term strategies, or to recruitment generally to voluntary associations (Piven, 1966; Reissman, 1964; Rainwater, 1968; Gordon and Babchuk, 1966). It has also been argued that an adequate appreciation of motivation to participation must rest on a finer analysis than this simple 'instrumental' and 'expressive' division, and that even this simple classification is not always an accurate reflection of what actually happens in the participation in associations of low socio-economic status participants (Smith and Freedman, 1972).

In an attempt to clarify some of these issues in terms of a 'psychology of participation', Seals (1968) suggests that the degree of affect that members bring to their participation is a crucial determinant in combination with the structure of the association, of the overall character of the association, but there appears to be little agreement in the literature as to the exact relationship of cognitive factors, or of social skills as applied cognition, to participation (Smith and Freedman, 1972; Erbo, 1964; Burke, 1968). Similarly, little is made of the distinction between joining and the quality of subsequent participation, and the affective and cognitive factors involved in these processes.

Smith (1966) argues that any discussion of the psychological variables involved in voluntary association participation must distinguish between general personality traits, general voluntary association/relevant attitudes, and specific voluntary association attitudes. Personality traits in this case means those dispositional characteristics that an individual manifests in his behaviour in a variety of types of situation, and Smith suggests that because voluntary association membership involves interaction with people, then we would expect participants to show high trust and low cynicism, coupled with a general optimism and sense of competence. The general voluntary association/relevant attitudes revolve around a 'service' approach to leisure while the specific voluntary association/relevant attitudes, in addition to obviously needing to be complementary to the general attitudes, also need to reflect a congruence between an individual's own values and those represented by the association's goals and activities.

After comparing samples of members and non members, and high and low participating members of a number of associations, Smith concluded that contrary to his expectations, only a few of the personality variables discriminates significantly between members and non members, but they are the strongest factor in discriminating between active and inactive members. It is the general and specific voluntary association/related attitudes that best discriminate members from non members. This suggests that basically people must believe that their joining an association will results in their attaining rewards and benefits of whatever sort. It is the presence of this optimism in the association which can not only predict to membership, but also it has been suggested, to the type of organization, in terms of its proximity and immediacy of its goals that people will join (Gordon and Babchuk, 1966; Simpson and Gully, 1962). As well as being able to predict to some extent the level of participation, and the type of association joined, in terms of whether it is locality based, or more broadly based, much of the community organizing literature that came out of the anti-poverty programme

in the 1960s in the U.S. cities suggested further that for low socio-economic status groups, issue oriented, locality based associations were marked by higher levels of active membership (Ecklein and Lauffer, 1972; Brager and Purcell, 1967; Kramer, 1969; Marris and Rein, 1967; Warren, 1969; Burke, 1968). Although some of these generalizations have been challenged, (Babchuk and Booth, 1969; Simpson and Gulley, 1962) the difficulty with many of these studies is that they are simply using different criteria of 'success' or different understandings of what constitutes effective membership. For example, Rose (1955) examines the level of activity generated under conditions where conflict exists between the association and other institutions and uses a high level of issue oriented activity as a measure of good participation, while Babchuk and Booth (1969) use length of membership and low turnover as indicative of good participation - and by so doing, define short term issue oriented activity as dysfunctional and not an indicator of organizational success.

Generally the literature surveyed on this particular issue of motivation to participation is seldom specific about the nature of 'instrumental' and 'expressive' benefits, and certainly does not provide an adequate enough conceptualisation of them as different types of benefit to allow useful conclusions to be drawn as to their distinct relationship to motivation to participation. This issue of instrumental and expressive benefits will be returned to later and it is worth noting that in addition to the use of this framework for distinguishing between benefits, there has been some attempt to use the instrumental/expressive distinction at a broader level to distinguish between types of organizations. Typical of this sort of formulation is the distinction made by Rogers and Bultena (1975) and Ross (1972) between those organizations whose primary activities serve as a means to an end (instrumental) and those in which the primary activities are ends in themselves (expressive). While this classification is in itself a statement about the goals of an organization, it can only



answer in fairly gross terms questions about what an association actually does. What it cannot do is to take this a necessary step further and answer questions such as "is the association doing what it says it is doing"; "what are the associations' priorities and are these priorities manifest in programmatic terms". In order to get answers to these sort of questions the notions of latent and manifest functions and goal displacement, either on their own or as related phenomena are more typically drawn on. For Sills (1968), goal displacement represents one of the four fundamental processes of voluntary associations, along with institutionalization, minority rule and goal succession.

Discussing aspects of these processes in terms of goal preservation, Sills (1957: 62) suggests that "The generic problem of goal preservation may be stated as follows: in order to accomplish their goals, organizations establish a set of procedures or means. In the course of following the procedures however, subordinates or members to whom authority and functions have been delegated often come to regard them as ends in themselves, rather than as a means towards the achievement of organizational goals." The result of this, he suggests, is that "the actual activities of the organization becomes centred around the proper functioning of organization procedures rather than upon the achievement of the initial goals." In this sense a displacement of goals occurs, such that primacy is given to organizational maintenance via institutionalization and formalisation of processes, rather than achievement of the stated aims of the association.

Although this particular aspect of goal displacement has been suggested as being endemic to voluntary associations (Berelson and Steiner, 1964; Chapin, 1964; Smith and Freedman, 1972; Chapin and Tsouderos, 1955) it has also been characterized (Berelson and Steiner, 1964; Sills, 1968) as a process whereby latent goals or functions displace manifest goals, where manifest goals are taken to be the stated aim of the association, and latent goals or functions to be those concerned with organizational maintenance.

Sills (1968) however, notes that to talk of goal displacement and goal succession in terms of the replacement of manifest by latent functions, is to raise the extremely difficult question of the verification of latent functions. Quite simply, the stated aims of the association may be framed in such a way as to achieve maximum responsiveness in terms of attracting membership or funds or in being legitimated officially, whereas the real business of the association is reflected in different functions which by using this sort of conceptualization would be seen as latent - whereas in fact they are manifest functions.

The literature in this area does not seem to handle this difficulty well, and does not seem to recognise the co-existence of latent and manifest functions, but conceives of them as mutually exclusive, such that displacement becomes the issue, in a normative sense - an organization ought to be performing a particular function rather than another.

The issue of goal displacement and goal succession has been characterized by the others (Blum, 1968; Gurin and Ecklein, 1968; Johnson, 1975; Perlman and Jones, 1967; Perlman and Gurin, 1972) as representing a fundamental dilemma for many associations between what Blum (1968) terms "individual mobility goals" and "group mobility goals" or between "services" and "political action" as it is usually expressed. Perlman and Gurin (1972) note that associations which may perceive themselves to be interest or pressure groups will sometimes need to provide direct services to members in order to attract people into the organization, and that the subsequent tension between these two basic orientations is based on the fundamental difference in approach and style that they necessitate. Although Austin (1968) has noted the effect of those orientations on the way external relations are handled, Perlman and Gurin (1972 : 133) sum up the issue when they remark that "the strategies and activities of voluntary groups stem from their ideologies and their purpose, particularly from the decisions made as to the mix between a service orientation and a political stance".

Importantly for them, those are not necessarily mutually exclusive orientations, and it is the resolution of the tension between them that characterizes associational function. This appears to be a more useful formulation than either the instrumental/expressive distinction or the notion of goal displacement, as it can accommodate the fact that there may be more than one primary goal, for the organization as a whole, and that there may be a difference within the membership as to what the primary goal for them is. For some of the members, joining and participating in a voluntary association will be a result of a need to belong, and to exercise some decision making skills, and as such their membership goal will perhaps be to hold office, rather than primarily to attain the overall goal of the association. For other members, recruitment and participation will be a direct function of the 'service' benefits that they are offered for their membership while others will be motivated by the external orientation, or the 'political' goals of the association.

These problems of understanding exactly why people join associations, the tensions between a 'service' and a 'political' orientation, the distinction between manifest and latent functions and the problems of measuring latent function are difficult enough when related to voluntary associations generally, but are there special difficulties when these issues are related to ethnic associations?

#### Ethnic Associations

The general literature on voluntary associations offers little by way of qualification of some of the broader issues when the associations under discussion are ethnic associations. Smith and Freedman (1972) and Orum (1965) in their reviews of some of this literature suggests that there are two main approaches to understanding the relationship between ethnicity and participation in voluntary associations, although it should be noted that their review is restricted to black American associations only. One view

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is that blacks tend to join voluntary associations more than whites of a comparable socio economic status, because of a 'pathological' need to compensate for exclusion in other areas of life, and that participation in non political organizations may play a role in socialising blacks for future political action. An alternative view is that feelings of identification with an ethnic community both extend and intensify participation, as associational membership is perceived as a way of expressing ethnic distinctiveness.

Overall these reviews suggest that there is little consensus in the literature, with ethnic associations being seen generally either as a means of cushioning adaptation and providing a socialising mechanism, or as a milieu for maintaining and reaffirming ethnicity.

Apart from assuming that these are necessarily mutually exclusive functions, the general literature, in line with the general failure to distinguish between the affective and cognitive bases of participation as separate motivating factors, does not take account of those associations, such as the ethnic association, which are concerned with the enhancement of identity of its individual members, rather than with enhancing the standing of the ethnic group of which the association is a part.

Taking up some of the issues outlined earlier, it could be suggested that it is the centrality of 'identity' that shows most clearly the deficiencies of the formulations of association structure and function reviewed, especially when they are used to comment on ethnic associations.

If identity is a key concern, then should we think of identity enhancement of individual members as a latent or manifest function, as a subordinate or superordinate goal, or as a key to understanding goal displacement in ethnic associations? or, still using the given frameworks, do we say that in these associations, identity maintenance and growth is the superordinate aim, while the subordinate goal is the stated aim of the association, if this is different from a goal implied by the superordinate

aim. If this were the case, then goal displacement may be thought of as occurring at the level of subordinate goals only. That is, the debate about 'service' versus 'politics' is really one, for those associations, about how to effectively enhance ethnic identity.

Similarly, does it make sense to distinguish between expressive and instrumental benefits, where identity is the major issue, as it is not clear from this more general literature whether identity is necessarily expressive rather than instrumental. It could be suggested that where identity enhancement of a group, as an associational aim is instrumental, the identity enhancement sought by individual participants of the association is an expressive aim, on the basis that there may be a different motivating force behind the two levels of aim.

The other question left unanswered by this literature is that of how much difference between members and the association's aims is actually functional, or how much is dysfunctional. This of course begs the question of how an organization can be judged successful - if it meets its stated aims, or if it meets the aims of the majority of its members (if these differ).

One interesting point emerging from the general literature not yet noted, is the issue most clearly stated by Palisi (1968) of the usefulness of the whole concept of 'voluntary association' itself. For Palisi, the concept is of little use unless it applies to those associations which are truly voluntary in membership. That is, we need to examine the social pressures on people to join associations, then note the interaction of latent forces such as the opportunity structure, the structure of group interaction, cultural and political forces. This approach suggests that where it can be demonstrated for example that association membership is used as an alternative avenue for group expression, where the opportunity to do so in the mainstream of political and social life for a particular group is unavailable, then such an association should not be considered a

'voluntary' association. This approach suggests that it is differential social force that determines the structure and function of associations. This is important especially when considering participation in ethnic associations. As noted earlier, one view of ethnic associations especially as applied to black American associations is that they perform just this sort of compensatory function, as blacks, far from participating at a lower level than whites (Drake and Clayton, 1945) are more likely to join and participate in voluntary associations than whites of a similar socioeconomic status (Myrdal, 1944; Smith and Freedman, 1972; Babchuk and Thompson, 1962; Caplan, 1970; Orum, 1966).

It was noted earlier that this may not as Myrdal (1944) has suggested, represent a 'pathological' need to overcompensate, but may in fact be a 'usual' aspect of adaptation of ethnic minorities in situations of rural/urban migration (Little, 1957, 1965; Mangin, 1959; Wilmott, 1964; Bruner, 1963; Banton, 1957; Du Toit and Safa, 1975; Safa and Du Toit, 1975; Klobus and Edwards, 1976; Pierson, 1977). Indeed Gulick (1973 : 1000) suggests that "one can responsibly risk the generalization that wherever there are recent migrants to cities, there probably are migrants' organizations that exist primarily for the purpose of mutual aid."

This is not to suggest that ethnic associations may not at times serve as "passageways for withdrawal and entrenchment" whereby ethnic urban residents avoid discrimination and confrontation with the larger political and social structure, as suggested by Broom and Kitruse (1955), i.e. that they may serve a defensive function. What it does suggest however, is that careful attention needs to be paid to the actual functions of the ethnic association in its role as an adaptive mechanism for those ethnic groups in a 'migrant' phase of minority/majority relations. Those associational functions need to then be compared with those characteristic of groups with more established entity characteristics which are evident in their interaction with the majority, particularly via associations.



Already it should be noted, there is a distinction between the general literature on voluntary associations, including that part that addresses itself directly to the question of ethnic associations, and the ethnic association literature proper. That is, that in the former case the concern is primarily with the associations in highly urbanized and industrial contexts, while in the latter, there is an explicit concern with the rural/urban dimension particularly as an aspect of social change, and the effect this context has on function, and it is with this dimension, that any detailed consideration of ethnic associational functioning needs to start.

In discussing anthropological aspects of voluntary associations, Banton (1968) suggests that the study of voluntary associations is part of the study of social change, and as such, any judgement as to their significance must be related to particular phases of social change. Little (1957, 1965, 1974) working from a concern with the role of voluntary associations in West African urbanization suggests that if urbanization is taken as the overall social change process, then voluntary associations will act as an adaptive mechanism, providing culture maintenance, culture modification, and 'secular' often financial, functions for its members. Much of this adaptive behaviour involves restructuring social relationships and Little suggests (1957 : 593) that in relation to adjustment to urban conditions, "the association facilitates this by substituting for the extended group of kinsman a grouping based on common interests which is capable of serving many of the same needs as the traditional family or lineage".

This paradox of functioning, where the voluntary association may be characterized both as innovative and conservative in terms of relationship determination to the majority society has been noted in the context of the functions of associations in the Polish community in Chicago since early this century (Lopota, 1964) and is clearly articulated by Johnson (1975). He notes that because former principles of integration and organization no longer suffice within a different economic and relationship structure, that



the first task of the ethnic association is to duplicate kinship functions, and to provide a bridging mechanism in terms of values and norms, especially where these values and norms are manifest in family and kinship structure.

In this sense, the cultural/educational function noted by Lopota (1964) is of crucial importance as ethnic associations not only reaffirm traditional values and norms, but interpret some of the complexities of urban social organization. For Johnson (1975 : 54) this complexity "seems to be one of the more important variables in determining the formation and crystallization of voluntary associations", in ethnic communities. In terms of duplication of kinship relationships these associations are rendering necessarily more complex urban patterns of interaction into a more manageable form by for example, retaining the intensity of kin contact, but enabling this to occur over a greater socio-emotive distance (Shanas, 1975; Irving, 1975).

Graves and Graves (1974) suggests that strategies of coping in a complex unfamiliar context which involve co-ethnics and kinsmen, or functional equivalents of kinsman, reflect a search for predictability and control in a situation where a diminished sense of control is endemic. While stressing the adaptive functions of ethnic associations, they argue that they 'succeed' in this function by reducing the complexity having to be faced, and do this by isolating the association member to a greater or lesser extent. They suggest (1974 : 139-140) that "Isolating mechanisms ... serve to reduce the number, scope and intensity of the problems with which a migrant must cope immediately. By living and working within the ethnic community, by avoiding inter-ethnic contact whenever possible and by avoiding the use of strange and impersonal urban institutions ... the new migrant keeps the problems with which he must deal within manageable bounds". This duplication of village/rural networks and 'ways of knowing', in an urban context is not only confined to ethnic groups, and has been noted as a characteristic of the elderly in handling more complex information in a more complex environment (Taitz, 1975). The difference however with ethnic associations

seems to be that this duplication is rather more consciously a matter of group or associational strategy, rather than an individual coping style. If this isolating and simplifying function reflects the conservatism of the ethnic association, then assisting members in the acquisition of urban skills and enhancing their adaptability and coping must reflect the innovative or integrative aspect.

The isolating or containing function of the ethnic association ought not to be seen necessarily as a negative characteristic, limiting the potential of the ethnic group member for acquiring services, unless it can also be argued that the ethnic community is not capable of resourcing its members from within. While it has been noted that the church in ethnic communities is crucial to the formation of alternative services, particularly welfare services during the early phase of urban adaptation (Hillman, 1964), as is the degree of residential mixture which reflects the degree of acceptance and inter-community contact especially as to the use of services outside the ethnic community (Kenyon, 1976), the concept of 'institutional completeness' is particularly useful in understanding these internal and external processes.

Breton (1964) uses the term to refer to the extent to which the ethnic community can provide the services needed by its members. While noting that the degree of institutional completeness loses some of its salience over time, as the need to stay within the ethnic community for social contacts decreases with time, he argues strongly that the ethnic community can only act in this conservative way, as an alternative to integration, if it has the organizational and service resources to offer. That is, that people will generally not remain isolated and encapsulated if their needs are not being met. This aspect of group processes will be discussed in some detail later in the study, but at this point, it is simply worth noting that isolation may be seen as positive, and must certainly be seen to be evidence in some cases of strategic decision making within ethnic communities, and by ethnic association in particular.

This sort of isolation or defensive 'inclusiveness', has been noted (Mithun, 1973) as a characteristic of ethnic associations which seek to mobilise or incorporate co-operative networks, especially in situations where members gain some direct benefit or where significant life and livelihood areas are under threat. A greater degree of 'strategic' planning and a higher rate of activity in the pursuit of goals has also been argued by Hamer (1976), to be feature of associations acting under the pressure of external opposition. Perry (1976) takes up this argument and suggests that in analysing the intervention strategies used by black organizations, whose prime objective is to 'improve the general welfare' of the ethnic community of which they are a part, we can distinguish between the operating styles of those employing a consensus and those employing a conflict model of social change. Although her definition of what constitutes a conflict model is limited in its rather anarchic characterization, implying a less systematic analysis than the consensus approach ("no established rules governing the interaction between groups" p.210) her findings on a sample of over fifty, generally city based black organizations in a U.S. city, offer an interesting rider to Mithun's (1973) and Hamer's (1976) analyses.

Assuming that the findings are limited to the extent that self-definition of what constituted consensus or conflict strategies by these organizations, would vary, she found that more recently formed associations rated themselves as more conflict oriented than did older organizations (a half compared to one-third). When these results were matched against observation of group strategies however, the differences between younger and older associations disappeared. Although she does not elaborate upon this, it may be suggested that there are two possible explanations for this. One is that a rhetoric of conflict may be employed in order to generate a sense of isolation or defensive inclusiveness as a way of ensuring a cohesive and motivated membership. The second, and probably coeval

explanation is that those 'conflict oriented' groups become over time, absorbed in organization maintenance tasks which lead to a loss externally conflictual approach. If these explanations have any validity, then it suggests that a conflict orientation, including an analysis of ethnic group status etc. in conflict terms may be functional for associations in the early stages of their development, but may be dysfunctional in terms of consuming energy which may otherwise be spent on organizational maintenance in the later stages of development. This is not to ignore however, that in terms of superordinate goal attainment, this organizational maintenance procedure may in itself be dysfunctional.

Gerlach and Hine (1970), in recommending the approach to understanding the behaviour of ethnic associations that is adopted here - one that focuses on structure, function and process - note that ethnic associations engaged in social change processes, or acting within a conflict model of societal relations, will often exhibit a greater degree of factionalism and ideological diversity than is evident in consensus oriented associations. This factionalism they suggest, should be seen as an indication of how successful the organization is being in realising its adaptive function, in that it is responding to the tensions of rapid change and the need for rapid adaptability by adopting different, and hopefully more relevant organizational tactics which should then be passed onto the membership in terms of enhanced coping skills.

Perry's (1976) suggestions that organizations change over time, if not in programatic terms, then at least at the level of rhetoric, indicates that we need to distinguish between associations which are progressing through different phases of development as a way of coping with the tensions of changes in social conditions, (particularly in the relationship between the ethnic community and the larger grouping) and those that occupy a particular position and cope with the tensions in that position rather than coping by changing functions. Kuo's (1977) analysis of the relationship of

voluntary associations to processes of social and political change in New York's China Town, suggests that certain types of organization are relevant at particular times, and that both processes occur - some associations change their functions over time, while others come into existence at particular phases, and either handle the tensions internally, while maintaining an orientation relevant to that particular phase, or simply resist a response in terms of function change.

She distinguishes four main orientations or phases for the ethnic associations. The first relates to the 'migration' phase of minority/majority relationships and is primarily an economic orientation involving family, district, guild or merchant associations providing various forms of mutual aid. The second phase is represented by modern service associations. She suggests (1977 : 45) that "The government programme that most influenced the evolution of Chinese voluntary associations was the Anti-Poverty Programme established in the 1960s. It directly created a new type of modern service association that performs the functions of social service agencies at at times the functions of political pressure groups that challenge local traditional leadership and the governmental institutions in the larger society." She notes that the government can play a crucial role in the development and functioning of these associations through its funding role, and that these associations often have the difficult task of relating to 'government' at city, county and national levels.

The third phase that Kuo identified is that of political pressure associations which in the case of associations operating in the China Town she investigated, were often localized developments of nationwide social movements. Finally, the fourth phase, that of the united political action association, reflects a broadening of interests from a fairly narrow single ethnic group focus to a concern with those who share a similarly disadvantaged position politically, as well as socially and economically. It is a phase marked by a willingness to enter coalitions, but also by a

high degree of interethnic competition between for example, 'traditional' and 'modern' leaders and interethnic competition in terms of competition for State financial aid, and otherwise limited resources. That those 'phases' may represent function change over time in one association or the relatively 'fixed' position of different associations, is a point taken up by Martin (1972) in her analysis of 'community and identity' amongst 14 Eastern European minority groups in an Australian city between 1948 and 1967. She makes the point very strongly that ethnic associations should not simply be seen as reactive or protective structures, but as interest groups pursuing 'political' goals, in a variety of ways.

In an approach which underpins that taken in the present study, she places 'identity' at the centre of any consideration of ethnic associational structure and function, and suggests that ethnic groups are defined by the "collective identity of their members" (p.80) as distinct from an ascribed collective identity.

Furthermore, the analysis is based on a dynamic model of minority group functioning - that is, a model whose elements are processes rather than states, with the component processes referring to internal minority organization, goal definition and achievement (including the mobilization of resources to achieve goals), the attainment of identity and the handling of external relations. Having applied this model to these associations, she notes that we need to also account for limited ethnic associational behaviour. She suggests that it should not be assumed that because there is an inactive and non cohesive associational structure, there is not an intense and intricately cross-cutting social life of a non-institutionalized kind - ethnic associations must be assessed in the total context of the ethnic communities' behaviour. She concludes further, that the most effective stimulus to group organization in these minorities is not finally a defensive reaction against anything. The stimulus comes from the positive value attached to the opportunities for self expression, gaining

recognition and exercising influence provided by ethnic associations and to the role of informal networks in channelling resources from the wider society to the individual immigrant. It represents ultimately, a concern to maintain group identity. Perhaps because her research focused on Eastern European refugee groups whose interethnic divisions were masked somewhat by an overriding orientation towards anti communism; groups whose distinctiveness was evident in religious, cultural, linguistic and political terms, she has confirmed identity maintenance as the primary goal of the ethnic association. As suggested earlier however, for those defined according to ascriptive characteristics as members of an ethnic category, who wish to challenge that ascribed identity and forge a viable alternative ethnic group identity, the ultimate purpose of the association will reside in its ability to create initially, then maintain their ethnic identity. This will be returned to when considering the propositions arising out of the review of concepts and approaches.

At this point, to provide a base for considering similarities and differences between ethnic associations generally, and ethnic associations in Britain, it is worth noting in some detail how the application of Martin's (1972 : 106-133) model allows us to distinguish between major patterns of minority organization and development as reflected by associational behaviour. Taking the processes mentioned earlier, internal minority organization; goal definition and attainment; identity attainment; and the handling of external relations, we can distinguish four basic types, although it should again be emphasised that these may refer to the changes in one organization over time, just as they may refer to different organizations at the same point in time.

These broad types of minority group organization will also be used to contribute to the generation of a set of propositions concerning ethnic associational behaviour and its relationship to the process of ethnic group formation.



#### TYPE A

(i) Internal minority organization

Rudimentary associational structure only; differentiation of quasi-group kind; potential rather than actual.

(ii) Definition and attainment of goals

Specific, simple definition of goals, with a high degree of consensus.

Resources unknown and unavailable to the minority, latent only.

Future goal attainment emphasised; present a temporary interlude.

(iii) Attainment of identity

Rigid determination to preserve traditional identity intact.

(iv) Interplay of host and minority perceptions

'Assimilationist' stance of host seen by minority as threatening;

minority perceived by host as intransigent and unknowable;

perceptions deter communication and consolidate in mutual ignorance.

(v) Handling of external relations

Minimal involvement in external relations; belief in temporariness of situation encourages apartness from host society.

#### TYPE B

(i) Internal minority organization

Consolidation of associational structure around community associations; stabilization of special interest groups, with a high proportion of affiliated groups.

(ii) Definition and attainment of goals

Diffusion of community association goals to keep general consensus;

consolidation of selected special interests, some new ones having been acquired, some old ones dropped or changed.

Development of mechanisms for ensuring continuity of resources;

buildings, schools, training programmes.



(ii) Definition and attainment of goals. continued...

Faith in continuing ability to attain goals.

(iii) Attainment of identity

Development of new and unique identity, viable in minority's present situation.

(iv) Interplay of host and minority perceptions

'Assimilationist' stance of host not accepted by minority, but recognised as one of many situational factors minority has to adapt to; development of some measure of tolerance and respect on part of host for what is seen as minority co-operativeness; perceptions stabilise communication at level adequate to preserve modus vivendi.

(v) Handling of external relations

Organization of external relations of all kinds to maximise attainment of minority's own goal.

TYPE C

(i) Internal minority organization

Fragmentation as cleavages develop within or between community associations; proliferation of special interest associations, lack of mechanisms for effective control of inter ethnic relations.

(ii) Definition and attainment of goals

Attempts to arrive at commonly agreed upon goals, but attachment to particularist and external goals prevails.

Attempts to mobilize scarce resources for personnel and finance frustrated by lack of consensus on goals; disillusioned individuals dissociate themselves from minority affairs.

Frustration because of failure to define or achieve commonly agreed-upon goals.

- (ii) Definition and attainment of goals. continued...  
Faith in continuing ability to attain goals.
- (iii) Attainment of identity  
Development of new and unique identity, viable in minority's present situation.
- (iv) Interplay of host and minority perceptions  
'Assimilationist' stance of host not accepted by minority, but recognised as one of many situational factors minority has to adapt to; development of some measure of tolerance and respect on part of host for what is seen as minority co-operativeness; perceptions stabilise communication at level adequate to preserve modus vivendi.
- (v) Handling of external relations  
Organization of external relations of all kinds to maximise attainment of minority's own goal.

#### TYPE C

- (i) Internal minority organization  
Fragmentation as cleavages develop within or between community associations; proliferation of special interest associations, lack of mechanisms for effective control of inter ethnic relations.
- (ii) Definition and attainment of goals  
Attempts to arrive at commonly agreed upon goals, but attachment to particularist and external goals prevails.  
Attempts to mobilize scarce resources for personnel and finance frustrated by lack of consensus on goals; disillusioned individuals dissociate themselves from minority affairs.  
Frustration because of failure to define or achieve commonly agreed-upon goals.

(ii) Definition and attainment of goals. continued...

Faith in continuing ability to attain goals.

(iii) Attainment of identity

Development of new and unique identity, viable in minority's present situation.

(iv) Interplay of host and minority perceptions

'Assimilationist' stance of host not accepted by minority, but recognised as one of many situational factors minority has to adapt to; development of some measure of tolerance and respect on part of host for what is seen as minority co-operativeness; perceptions stabilise communication at level adequate to preserve modus vivendi.

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Frustration because of failure to define or achieve commonly agreed-upon goals.

(ii) Definition and attainment of goals. continued...

Faith in continuing ability to attain goals.

(iii) Attainment of identity

Development of new and unique identity, viable in minority's present situation.

(iv) Interplay of host and minority perceptions

'Assimilationist' stance of host not accepted by minority, but recognised as one of many situational factors minority has to adapt to; development of some measure of tolerance and respect on part of host for what is seen as minority co-operativeness; perceptions stabilise communication at level adequate to preserve modus vivendi.

(v) Handling of external relations

Organization of external relations of all kinds to maximise attainment of minority's own goal.

TYPE C

(i) Internal minority organization

Fragmentation as cleavages develop within or between community associations; proliferation of special interest associations, lack of mechanisms for effective control of inter ethnic relations.

(ii) Definition and attainment of goals

Attempts to arrive at commonly agreed upon goals, but attachment to particularist and external goals prevails.

Attempts to mobilize scarce resources for personnel and finance frustrated by lack of consensus on goals; disillusioned individuals dissociate themselves from minority affairs.

Frustration because of failure to define or achieve commonly agreed-upon goals.

(iii) Attainment of identity

Disagreement about what constitutes identity, and whether emphasis should be on forging a new identity or preserving the old.

(iv) Interplay of host and minority perceptions

'Assimilationist' stance of host partly blamed for minority's troubles; minority seen by host as embroiled in arcane and dangerous dissension; highly selective communications reinforce mutually unfavourable perceptions.

(v) Handling of external relations

Neglect of relations with host society because of concentration on internal problems and/or external ethnic relations.

TYPE D

(i) Internal minority organization

Conflict between community associations develops to the point when members become polarised around one association; decline in vigour of associational life.

(ii) Definition and attainment of goals

Consolidation of conflicting particularist goals; abandonment of attempt to arrive at all embracing goals.

This spread of resources over conflicting activities and groups; no policy for sharing resources.

Concentration of goal attainment within limited, particularist areas.

(iii) Attainment of identity

Struggle between groups over claim to represent minority's true identity; some group and individual self hatred.

(iv) Interplay of host and minority perceptions

'Assimilationist' stance of host perceived differently by different factions and individuals, and warmly supported by some as part of

their rejection of minority identification; as a group, minority not readily visible to host and host perceptions remain generalized and embryonic.

(v) Handling of external relations

Impingement of external bodies exacerbates internal conflict.

Ethnic Associations in Britain <sup>(5)</sup>

The question of leadership in ethnic associations received little attention in the literature surveyed, and even where it was commented on, the concern was not always with relating leadership patterns or style to organizational structure and function. This relationship however, has been noted in some of the literature relating to ethnic associations in Britain, and while Martin (1972) identified unresponsive 'authoritarian' leadership as a problem for organizational functioning, much of this literature identifies the transience of leaders or difficulties in recruitment as primary obstacles to organizational effectiveness.

In offering an ideal definition of the ethnic group leader, Kamath (1971: 218) suggests that it is a person "... who works for the welfare of the people without any self interest, and who is capable of influencing the attitude and action of at least a part of the community."

It is obviously unrealistic to expect that ethnic association leadership should be motivated not by self interest, when it was noted earlier in this chapter, that one of the primary motivating forces for people to join associations is the opportunity to hold office and exercise power within a controlled and relatively 'safe' environment. Kamath, in his description of Asian leadership patterns apparently means that direct financial self interest ought not to be a motivating factor.

An important feature of the 25 Asian leaders surveyed by Kamath was that their leadership was primarily based on leadership within social and cultural terms rather than in political terms. For these leaders, social

and cultural groupings were not considered to have a political function.

This view is in sharp contrast to that offered by Katznelson (1976) in his analysis of ethnic associations as 'buffer institutions'. He suggests (p.179) that "at their best, buffer institutions can, despite their shortcomings, under certain circumstances, become significant arenas of inter group accommodation in themselves which may be more accessible to new potential partisans than traditional established institutions." He notes that in order to assume this role, these buffers "must have the capacity to affect the distribution and allocation of scarce resources. They must be descriptively representative in membership, responsive in policy, and efficient in policy execution. To prevent the process of bargaining from becoming one of dictation, they must link groups that, in terms of power capacity, are relatively equal."

For Katznelson, ethnic associations acting either singly or in combination perform this buffer service, interposing themselves between the ethnic community and the institutions of the State, and acting as interpreters of both to each other. This buffer service, for him is primarily a political one and this is made explicit when he discusses the role of a particular black leader. He comments (p.162) that "although the needs of the Third World migrants he claimed to represent were political in the sense that they comprised a distinct group competing for scarce resources, (he) assisted the political community by defining his peoples' needs in non-political terms."

This issue of whether ethnic associations are primarily political or not has featured elsewhere in discussions of ethnic association leadership, and this in turn is usually seen to be directly related to broader questions of the structure and function of ethnic associations generally.

Manderson-Jones' (1971) attitudinal survey of 21 West Indian leaders, found that many of those leaders' initial reaction was to retreat from the term 'leader' as for them, "... the greater number of so-called leaders of the West Indian community in Britain are largely fictitious creations of the

communications media, or simply 'local spokesman...' (p.196). In this sense, leadership was not always thought to be synonymous with legitimacy and beyond this a number of other barriers to effective or legitimate leadership were identified. These centred principally around the fact that many associations, whether formally or 'semi formally' constituted, were national groups or splinter groups and did not enjoy broad support, as the vast majority of the West Indian community remained aloof from the functioning of, and participation in established voluntary associations.

Patterson's (1965) study of Brixton in the mid to late 50's led her to conclude that the major point of note about West Indian voluntary associations was their ephemeral and transient nature, other than for the 'partner' associations. But, she noted, even these dynamic mutual aid associations "... may be regarded as functioning largely to provide emotional 'ego-gratification' for their handful of organizers" (p.307). She commented on the restricted leadership pool created by upwardly mobile potential leaders tending to reject their group, and noted that, "as for followership, the majority of West Indians ... display an individualistic, independent, informal, even aggressive attitude in interpersonal relations which makes them extremely difficult to organize and intolerant of any formal, long term leadership." (p.310)

Patterson, in attempting to explain a situation where there were no large and stable voluntary associations and no effective intra-group social contacts, looked not only to leadership and 'followership' in broad terms, but directly attributed this lack of organization to a number of 'principles of dissociation'. Among these she identified the individuals concentration on economic activities, high residential mobility and 'sojourner' attitude; and a cluster of factors such as national, ethnic and geographical origin, sociocultural background, socioeconomic class affiliation both in Britain and at home, and length of settlement. These factors have been identified in other early studies of West Indian 'settlements'. Whereas Patterson (1965)



talked of principles of 'dissociation', Banton (1955), in his study of Stopnoy noted a high level of 'disorganization' amongst West Indians, which he contrasted with the more organized Asian communities. He attributed this lack of West Indian associations to "The extent to which European influences have disrupted the culture of the country of origin, and it appears to relate closely to the attitudes adopted by immigrants after arrival." (p.214)

Both Glass (1960) and Collins (1957) in their early studies noted the lack of formal associations amongst West Indians. While Glass attributed this mainly to the newness of a migrant group already divided by island distinctions, Collins in his Cardiff study suggested that unlike the Asian groups he identified, who were united by their Moslem beliefs and the 'traditional' associations which were attached to those beliefs, the West Indians, not having these strong traditions, were fragmented.

These early studies were generally concerned with new arrivals and recent settlements in urban areas, and it could be argued that the low level of associational participation was a function of this 'newness' and the problems associated with settling in - although this had been challenged both as fact and interpretation in Manleys' (1955) study of Liverpool in 1952. Later studies than these however, show similar patterns of association, (Braithwaite, 1967; Hylson-Smith, 1968; Rose, 1969; Banton, 1972; Allen, 1971), with a consistent pattern of low levels of participation in formal associations, and the existence of fragmented and short lived associations.

Heinemann (1972) tying together much of this material in his discussion of 'problems of organization' amongst West Indians in Britain, provides a set of propositions as to why these features may be characteristic, and in so doing, identifies some crucial problems for leaders in West Indian associations. He argues that individualism, a lack of national unity, and complacency are at least as much a problem for leaders as the fact that they

must walk a 'tightrope of integration', which involves them in working towards acceptance by whites and recognition by white authorities, and building a power base in their own community. Very often these are mutually exclusive objectives, and the difficulty is made more severe by the fact that as Rose (1972 : 147) points out, "... Britain has no tradition of dealing with political behaviour which explicitly recognises the importance of ethnic and group affiliations."

It is worth noting at this point that Heinemann's discussion of problems of organization relates to what Pearson (1974) terms 'communal' associations, or those which represent all the island communities within a West Indian settlement. This 'representation' is reflected in the membership and organization as well as group aims and objectives. This definition is rather restrictive in asking that all island countries be represented in a communal association and it could be suggested that a more useful formulation is one which states that such an association must not represent solely the interests of a particular island grouping, and that this be represented in the goals of the association.

Heinemann's (1972 : 76-77) summary includes the following "factors which would explain why the West Indians have had difficulty in establishing united, cohesive organizations to help develop their communities in Britain and to fight discrimination."

1. Heterogeneity in origin, class and political organization.
2. As immigrants, the West Indians have concentrated largely on individual economic activity, have high residential mobility, and intend to return home within a few years of their arrival in Britain.
3. The slave and colonial past has fostered patterns of behaviour, for example, colour consciousness and discrimination, among West Indians themselves, which suggest a partial explanation for present difficulties.
4. The pattern of discrimination against the Caribbean migrant in this country may have had deeply harmful effects on the capacity of the

West Indian to develop his own communities and to take advantage of those limited opportunities offered by the receiving country.

5. The problem of West Indian 'cultural independence' and self respect, the difficulties in evolving a viable group 'identity' for a people with British training and upbringing, and distinct African past, and a history of slavery and national fragmentation.
6. The political experience of the West Indies, itself a product of some of the factors mentioned above may condition the problem of association in Britain.

The analysis of ethnic associations in Britain so far presented and as represented in this summary constitute a particular type of analysis, which focuses not so much on the association itself in terms of its structure and function, but on the characteristics of the (usually) 'migrant settlement', particularly the West Indian settlement, to explain the apparent paucity and ephemerality of associations, particularly 'communal' associations.

Before outlining an alternative approach to this, it is worth noting in some detail one of the more recent and most thorough of this first type of approach - that developed by Pearson (1974, 1976, 1977, 1978) in his 'Easton' study and examine the way in which his analysis extends that of those studies previously mentioned.

Although Pearson (1978) identifies participation in religious associations and church membership, particularly in the Pentecostal Church, as a useful base from which leaders in particular may develop more generic organizational and political skills, the emphasis of much of his work, as with that already cited, is on providing an explanation for the apparent transitoriness and underdevelopment of associations amongst West Indians. He contrasts this sharply with the degree of organization found amongst Asian settlements.

Having rejected to some extent earlier attempts at explanation which rested on notions of 'culture clash', sojourner attitude, high residential

mobility, lack of experience of associations in the Caribbean, and desire to conform to 'white' institutional norms and to join white associations, Pearson (1977 : 374) suggests that "the paucity and ephemorality of West Indian communal associations in Easton is ... mainly attributed to the powerlessness of black migrants in contemporary metropolitan cities, the complexities of the historical development links between Britain and the Caribbean and the way in which these features have created internal divisions within the Caribbean population." It is an explanation of the nature of these internal divisions which form the greater part of his analysis.

A number of dimensions along which this divisiveness could be perceived are offered and include length of residence - 'old' settlers suspicious of newer arrivals often from different islands; age and generation differences - different views of what constitutes status and legitimacy and the differences between British born young people and Caribbean born older people; sex differences - male and female kin refraining from joining the same associations because of status competitiveness.

While these contribute towards the "series of subtle cross cutting lines of conflict within the various West Indian communities in the city"(Pearson 1977 : 374) the most potent factor contributing towards divisiveness for Pearson was island parochialism and within this the importance based on regional differences. He suggests that first generation settlers do not consider themselves as primarily 'West Indian' but as Antiguans, Barbadians etc. and that this is further reinforced by the distinction made between 'big island' and 'small island'. Compounding this is the more subtle distinction made between those from urban backgrounds and those from rural backgrounds. As these distinctions are soon to be a central rather than a peripheral feature, their effect is most obvious in inhibiting the formation or functioning of 'communal' as opposed to island based associations.

The divisions along the lines mentioned receive further encouragement from the other cluster of factors - class, status and respectability - that

Pearson identifies as derivative from the unique colonial history of West Indian settlers and the modified way in which they are reproduced in the metropolitan setting. Subjected to a simple ascribed status of 'black', it is suggested that although many of the colour and physical feature status distinctions valid in the Caribbean have lost much of their salience, that they may still have some effect. This effect however is moderated via other divisions such as that between respectable 'stable' family unions and non respectable 'unstable' units, and more generally the distinction between respectable and non respectable life styles - often expressed in terms of whether there is a church affiliation or not.

These respectable or non respectable connotations are then attached to voluntary association membership and participation, and Pearson suggests (1977 : 377) that "certain forms of associational activity may be recognised as respectable within an individuals own island network but not outside it. Activism may be equated with status striving or community benefaction, island politicking or 'West Indian' representation." The outcome of these divisions interacting with adaptive behaviour leading itself to differing 'degrees of Europeanization', is argued to be a 'cultural ambivalence' which manifests itself directly in the nature of West Indian communal associations. Thus predominantly first generation, respectable 'old timer' associations adopt a conservative moderate stance which is accommodative to host community constraints, while second generation militant radicalism gains little support as a 'West Indian' sentiment, due to its 'non respectability.' How does this approach then conceive of the differences between West Indian associations and those found in Asian communities?

Although it is recognised that there are superficial similarities between West Indians and Asians in terms of sharing a 'black immigrant' label stemming from a prior colonial status, Pearson (1976) identifies a number of important distinctions between 'West Indian' and 'Asian' patterns of social organization, particularly as represented by associations. The

absence of slavery and a purely colonial existence does not foster the 'cultural ambivalence' identified in West Indian societies, as Asian migrants possess a degree of ethnic solidarity not found in the West Indian community and " the Indian or Pakistani does not have to go through a process of continual self evaluation within a framework of competing cultural traditions" (p.175). A family/kin network and form of organization that favours collectivism is contrasted with West Indian 'individualism', and although there are strong informal West Indian networks they are held to be less substantial and to fall far short of the institutional completeness which Asian communities approximate.

The final point of difference Pearson identifies is in the nature of internal divisions between the two communities. While it is emphasised that neither migrant population is homogenous, West Indian intra and inter group divisions are seen as flexible and shifting, while in Indian and Pakistani communities status distinctions are less ambiguous.<sup>(6)</sup> Associational formation is fragmented in this case, but each segment is internally coherent and consequently more cohesive than West Indian associations, which are marked by cross cutting rather than congruent status dimensions. In West Indian communities, religious adherence generally detracts from political participation which is seen as 'non respectable'. This contrasts with Asian communities where "religious beliefs are firmly embedded in an all encompassing social and cultural milieu within which religious adherence does not necessarily militate against political association ... (instead) such beliefs often act as a reinforcing mechanism and underlying support system for political solidarity"(Pearson, 1976 : 176).

In general terms then, this sort of approach argues that Asian associational behaviour is characterized by a form of collectivism generated by a high degree of ethnic solidarity while the West Indian response is highly individualistic, arising from the degree of cultural ambivalence within this community.<sup>(7)</sup> In terms of this approach, what is the importance

of these features? Pearson (1974 : 358; 361-2) suggests that "West Indians would need to develop such forms of organization (as Asians) in order to enter as an effective force in the institutionalized political structure of the host community." Furthermore, if they "occupy a marginal position, tangential to the institutionalized political structure of the host society, then voluntary associations may come to represent crucial intermediate associations which link West Indian primary communities to the formal political structure of the host community. Thus voluntary associations may be the forerunners of social movements and political parties among coloured minorities who are partially excluded from the political power structures of the societies in which they reside."

It is clear that this interactional or processual approach makes explicit some of the complexities not raised in many of the earlier studies but in a sense the analysis remains incomplete, even when it is directly applied to a consideration of the structure and function of ethnic associations as in Fitzherberts' (1969) and Hiro's (1969) studies. It is incomplete because the analysis of processes of interaction is not related directly to the functions of the association in such a way that the role of the association in structuring interaction processes is made clear. This is primarily evidenced by the neglect of two important areas of discussion. Firstly, if Martin's (1972) model is taken as a guide, then a full account of interaction processes must include at the least a consideration of internal minority organization, goal definition and attainment, identity attainment and the handling of external relations. These studies, while detailed on internal minority organization, and to some extent on the handling of external relations (although they only look at associations as reactive formations generally), neglect the other areas that constitute a fuller development of a processual/interactional approach. Secondly, because of a lack of attention to questions of structure and function there is no consideration of the tensions within associations, and strategies



of tension management as they apply to either the 'collectivist' ethnic group associational style ('Asian') or the 'individualistic' ethnic category associational style ('West Indian').<sup>(8)</sup>

Critically therefore, there is little basis in this approach for developing an understanding of the role of the association in either real or symbolic terms in assisting an ethnic category to develop itself via group activity and negotiation about interaction processes, into an ethnic group. To do this, identity would need to be placed at the centre of the analysis.

This is not to suggest that these approaches, notably Heinemann (1972), Pearson (1974, 1976, 1977, 1978), Fitzherbert (1969) and Hiro (1969) do not consider identity or totally neglect the affective dimension of group behaviour. Pearson (1974) for instance suggests that in his area of study, the social organization of West Indian groupings reflects a quest for a unique identity and the innumerable complexities surrounding it. He further notes (1974 : 332) that "the presence of other ethnic communities ... who had established a wide range of ... associations, despite being faced with similar types of rejection from the host community, compounded West Indian beliefs in their own inferiority and reinforced the cycle of associational fragmentation."

What these studies of voluntary associations in Britain do reflect though is an approach which starts with issues about the internal organization of minority communities, and from that, concludes as to the viability or otherwise of associations. These may be contrasted with an approach which places discussion of associational structure and function rather more centrally, and which takes identity as a major issue in analysis. As mentioned in the introduction, this approach is illustrated well by Rex who suggests that these associations "deal with the stresses and strains which arise in personal relationships owing to migration, with problems of disadvantage in, and conflict with the society of the migrants' settlement and they deal with problems of identity." (Rex and Tomlinson, 1979 : 244-5).



This statement contains all of the elements suggested by Martin's (1972) model, and at this point it is worth considering this approach in more detail, before comparing the studies of minority voluntary associations in Britain, with the studies cited on minority associations generally.

Rex (1973), following Tonnies' (1955) formulation of 'community' and 'association', distinguishes between 'primary communities' and associations. Primary communities refer "to those groups on which individuals depend to keep them out of a state of absolute social isolation" as they constitute "groups of individuals who are bound together by intimate personal ties ... they involve the whole life of an individual ... they are groups in which men reveal more of themselves, they turn to their fellow-members in times of emergency, they tell secrets about themselves, they share their excitements and joys." (Rex 1973 : 15-20).

Rex is referring here to the intimacy of the primary relationships to be found in family and kin groupings, to friendship networks and in the minority group members, who meet in lodging houses and pubs. One of the major functions of the primary community is that it provides moral reference points and a social mirror for the member.

Associations are groups of people bound together through sharing a common set of cultural meanings, norms and beliefs, which structure the social forms within which they interact. Association leadership therefore takes as its concern not only material welfare, but the moral welfare of its members and at the very least, the association will represent a concern for maintaining the group culture. As mentioned earlier, Rex suggests that these associations perform four major functions - overcoming social isolation, affirming cultural beliefs and values, goal attainment and finally, pastoral work. He points out that the performance of pastoral work may constitute their primary function, and that this implies that there are members who act on behalf of the organization and clients who benefit from the services with the same person at times being both client and member.

Having stated the general principle that community associations will perform these four functions, Rex (1973 : 22) suggests very importantly, that the functioning of associations ought to be assessed in these terms, but that these factors are not always reflected in the stated aims of the association. These functions may constitute either the latent or manifest goals of the association, but all community associations which incorporate these four functions are a necessary vehicle for articulating the need for resource distribution and equalization in 'immigrant' communities. Rex suggests (1973 : 30) therefore that:

"The community association ... alters the social structure and creates new groupings of people through the group work which it promotes. It does 'pastoral' work among those who present themselves as clients. It acts as a tension-management system serving to give expression to, but also to channel and manage, the conflicts of interest which do occur. And it is a body which may act as a political pressure group on behalf of the community as a whole."

Rex's earlier concerns with the structure and function of the ethnic association in Britain had much to do with locating them within a process of urban socialization and adaptation which he characterized (1972 : 196) as "a process whereby men from rural, peasant, kin-based social systems must come to be effective role players in an urban individualistic system based upon property on the one hand, and bureaucracy on the other." He noted, (Rex, 1972 : 198) that "... supplementing the bureaucratic services provided by the Welfare State the immigrant finds that there are other services which at worst act as a channel of communication with the formal services but at best provide him with an additional and more direct source of aid." In drawing attention to the primacy of the 'sub contracted welfare function' this particular formulation left out the 'political pressure group' function, which was later picked up and developed in his discussion of black militancy and forms of organization (Rex, 1979).

From a starting point which identifies apparently contradictory trends in the relationship between 'immigrant' ethnic minorities and the class structure - apparent absorption into the working class, and a tendency

towards greater militancy among blacks which leads to a situation of 'defensive confrontation', Rex (1979 : 75) notes that trade unions provide both "the core and the focus of both communal and political organization." He goes on to suggest (p.76) that "the question which faces us in trying to describe the political relationship of incoming immigrant minorities to British society is mainly that of how far they can gain acceptance in the working class, joining its organizations and gaining the full and equal protection which British workers enjoy".

Citing evidence that although the working class is becoming partially black, there is a structural break between immigrants and the main body of the working class in terms of the labour and housing markets and the education system, Rex suggests that Blacks look to neighbourhood groups and organizations to fulfil the functions of the trade union - "Black power groups constitute for the immigrants and the British blacks the functional equivalent of the working class movement." (Rex, 1979 : 83)

Having clearly identified the political function of some specific associations, Rex goes on to suggest that there were three identifiable types of black political movement evident in his Handsworth study (Rex & Tomlinson, 1979) - the issue oriented movement, the personality oriented movement and the ideologically oriented movement. He also makes a distinction between these 'West Indian' types of organization and Asian associations, as he suggests (1979 : 83) that they are more likely to slot into a British form of political expression, and that as well as traditional welfare and culture organizations, there exist distinct workers associations to facilitate this expression. In general terms, these black organizations are seen as providing necessary protection for blacks in a hostile world - it is this stance that is characterized as 'defensive confrontation' - particularly for the new vulnerable groups such as the young unemployed.

Although this detail on the political function of ethnic associations is an advance on the earlier material by Rex, there is one difficulty with

it, namely that in talking of 'immigrants' rather than simply 'black' or where necessary, 'Black British', there may be unnecessary confusion when attempting to distinguish between an 'immigrant' (in the sense of an earlier stage) phase of political development and action and a 'mature' phase, which may be equated with the difference between the political behaviour of an ethnic category and the political behaviour of an ethnic group. While this proposition remains to be explored in the present study, it is clear that Rex's formulation has the potential for muddying any analysis of ethnic political behaviour although it is clear that he uses the term 'immigrant' not in a literal sense but as a term which rather delineates a particular ascribed status.

Having developed his theory of ethnic associational structure and function in terms of a socializing mechanism which can also articulate class interest at a local level, Rex's latest formulation of the issues goes on to place identity bargaining and enhancement in a more central position as a function of the association. (Rex and Tomlinson, 1979)

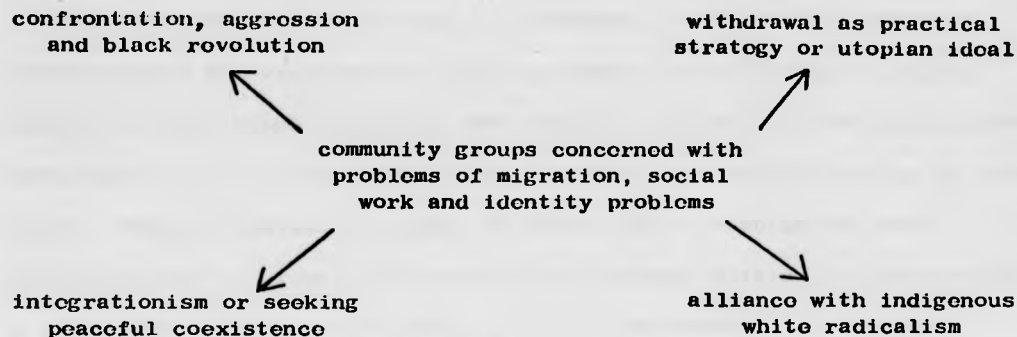
In reaffirming the importance of understanding associational behaviour, they suggest (p.241) that "... there are often far more individuals who look to the activities and the definition of social reality of organizations for guidance than there are actual members of these organizations. The other side of the same coin is that while survey evidence suggests apathy, the actual dynamic of community development is to be found in the work of organizations."

This is an important observation as far as this study is concerned, as it suggests that in some way, even if community associations are not strictly 'representative', then they may nevertheless articulate sentiments felt by a broader constituency than their membership, and in this sense may be 'symbolic' of moves towards identity enhancement by significant portions of ethnic communities.

In looking at the function of a community association ('communal' in Parsons terms) as distinct from a special interest (or 'island') association, Rex and Tomlinson suggest that it is possible for an association transcending particular interests to come into being and to provide the essential framework within which interaction between the separate conflicting associations could take place. The association did not entirely suppress conflict but "created a new situation in which, instead of conflicts being fought out by the separate groups to the point of their mutual destruction, they actually achieved more through negotiation and compromise." Apart from this conflict management function though, the association "played an ambiguous and internally contradictory role. It sought both to save individuals from a situation of individual anomie and group conflict and resocialize them for participating in a wider society of psychologically secure competing individuals, and yet to retain individuals in the community who could play representative and leadership roles within it." (Rex and Tomlinson, 1979 : 241-2)

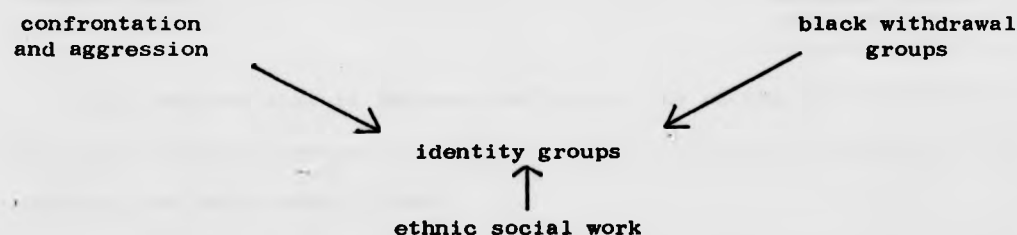
Having identified the internal (ethnic community) and external (between the ethnic community and wider society) tension management functions performed by these associations, Rex and Tomlinson (1979 : 244-5) suggest that they generally "deal with the stresses and strains which arise in personal relationships owing to migration, with problems of disadvantage in and conflict with the society of the migrants' settlement, and they deal with problems of identity."

Having identified this central tendency, they go on to suggest various alternatives and competing tendencies in terms of what ought to constitute the central tendency in those associations which can be represented figuratively thus:

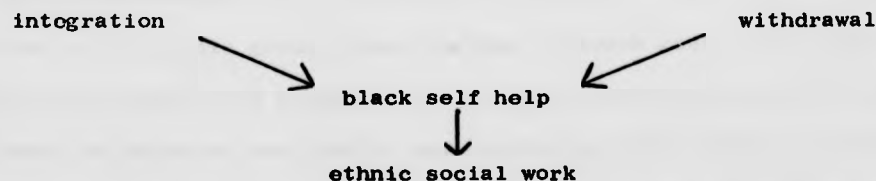


Where identity is emphasised as the central feature of the association, as in the case with some West Indian associations, Rex and Tomlinson suggest that these associations in terms of central tendency should be placed between practical social work, withdrawal, and confrontation and aggression.

Thus:

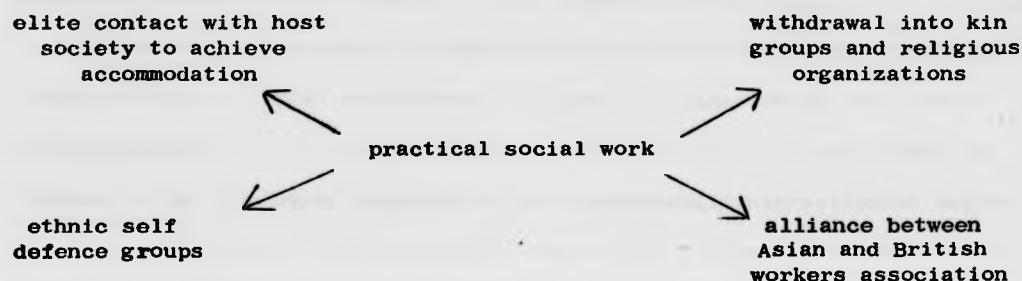


This differs from designated self help groups on the other hand who are represented thus:



The primary difference between these two associations, as Rex and Tomlinson conceive of them is the centrality of the welfare function - for identity enhancing groups, the performance of welfare tasks is contributory, but perhaps peripheral, while for the self help group, it represents a central function. What this does not say however, is what functions the association concerned with identity issues, performs for its members.

Similarly, if those associations representing a 'West Indian' style of associational behaviour mainly, are representative of the associational behaviour of an ethnic category, how does this differ from the associational behaviour typical of the ethnic group, in this case represented by an 'Asian' style. Rex and Tomlinson suggest an ethnic style in which the core activities and all four tendencies are all covered within the framework of a group based strongly on kinship, religion and ethnicity. This is represented as:



They suggest that it is possible to plot any of the four functions of the ethnic association as the central tendency, and plot tendencies which deviate from this central trend.

Although marked by a very different emphasis, the approaches represented by Rex and by Pearson agree on this fundamental point, that it is possible to distinguish between the associational behaviour of an ethnic category and that of an ethnic group. What neither approach goes on to suggest is whether for example the ethnic category association concerned with identity can adopt an associational style representative of the ethnic group, and whether this process is indicative of a broader process of ethnic group formation, or ethnogenesis, within that community. Before outlining the propositions to be tested in this study which arise out of this sort of consideration, it is worth noting briefly the similarities and differences between the material on associations in the U.K. and the general literature on voluntary associations and ethnic associations.

As noted immediately above, some of the material on ethnic associations

in Britain suggests that it is possible to distinguish between the associational style of 'collectivist' (ethnic group) type associations and 'individualistic' (ethnic category) type associations, whereas this sort of proposition is not considered in the more general literature surveyed. Kuos (1977) analysis of the changes in association structure and function being related to a process of movement from an immigrant defensive inclusiveness to a more ethnically secure, politically conscious and outward looking political behaviour perhaps comes closest to this category/group formulation. Although it more clearly articulates a concern with the effects of time, along the lines of Perry's (1976) contention of increased conservatism over time - programatically, if not always at the level of rhetoric - Kuos model of changes is not one based necessarily on a processual/interactionist understanding, that places ethnic associations at the centre of the interaction processes between ethnic minorities and the majority grouping.

To do this, a more detailed model such as Martin's (1972) has been presented, and although the approaches represented here by Rex and Pearson are both processual/interactional models, they can be seen to vary as to the extent that 'identity' is crucial to their models of associational behaviour.

Although Lopota's (1964) study of Polish associations in Chicago mentions the importance of the welfare function, this is not developed fully until Rex and Tomlinson's (1979) analysis of associational behaviour in Handsworth highlights its centrality as a function of associations, along with identity enhancement.

Rex, and later Rex and Tomlinson develop a political model of associational behaviour, arguing for the ethnic association to be seen as a functional equivalent of the working class movement in Britain. They also regard identity enhancement as a critical aim of the ethnic association, which apart from Martin's (1972)



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is a focus missing from most of the other studies cited, but even so, they do not specify what functions the association will perform in order to pursue a strategy of identity enhancement.

Although there are other points of similarity and difference between the material on ethnic associations in the U.K. and the general literature, the final point to be noted here is that the general literature does not distinguish between 'communal' associations, and other more narrowly focused associations. It also does not develop the point made earlier about the tension in voluntary associations generally, between 'political' and a 'service' orientation, as does Rex to some extent, by noting internal tension management as a key function of the ethnic association.

#### Summary and Propositions

Having noted briefly some of the similarities and differences between the approaches to understanding ethnic associational behaviour in the U.K. and approaches developed elsewhere, this chapter will conclude by tying together some of the issues raised in chapter one on ethnogenesis, with this material on ethnic associations, to develop a number of propositions to be tested, or issues to be clarified in the study.

The concept of ethnogenesis, has been presented as useful for describing a process of group formation and the identity bargaining that goes with it, but its usefulness is limited by a failure in the literature to specify how much change needs to have taken place in order to say that a process of ethnogenesis has occurred. Ethnogenesis involves, as suggested earlier, the transformation of an ethnic category or a portion of it, into an ethnic group. It has also been suggested that there are organizational styles and patterns of behaviour characteristic of ethnic categories and characteristic of ethnic groups. The major task of this study then, is to firstly assess the utility of the concept of ethnogenesis as a way of describing boundary negotiation and change processes, and secondly to assess whether this process

can be measured by reference to ethnic associational behaviour.

In examining associational behaviour as 'political' in the sense that associations concern themselves with resource distribution and equalization either by the provision of direct services or as political pressure groups, or a combination of these, it should be possible to assess the utility of the various models of political change processes presented in the literature. In particular Lawrences' (1974) three options for black communities - class unity, ethnic organization or black unity processes will be assessed, with this formulation being measured against other 'political process' option models such as Perrys' (1976), Martins' (1972) and Kuos' (1977). In particular the difference between category type association and group type association will be explored in this context.

'Identity' is a crucial consideration here, and a concept that fits uneasily within models of participation in associations, and associational behaviour which rely on distinctions between 'expressive' and 'instrumental' organizations, goals and behaviour, and I would hope to explore the extent to which this sort of model needs modification when applied to ethnic associations.

As it has been pointed out that 'service' and 'political' orientations to associational functioning derive from different ideological positions, this will need to be tested against Rex's model which suggests that these orientations should not be seen as necessarily mutually exclusive tendencies, but as conflicting tendencies which require the operation of tension management processes.

One proposition that will be tested, based primarily on Rex's model of associational structure and function which assumes the centrality of 'identity' and 'welfare', will be that this tension is resolved by using a 'welfare' function to meet both 'service' needs and to articulate a political analysis which clearly states the relationship of the ethnic category/group to the majority group and the State.

The other major dimension of tension management that will be explored will be the way associations handle the tension between their conservatism, in terms of containment and 'defensive inclusiveness', and their innovative tendencies, in terms of acting as a socializing mechanism increasing urban social and political skills.

In terms of detailed considerations, Martins proposition that there are four distinct types of ethnic association based on differences in internal minority organization, goal definition and achievement, attainment of identity and handling of external relations, will be tested, as will Gerlach and Hine's (1970) proposition that greater factionalism and ideological diversity is both characteristic of, and functional for conflict oriented associations, as it signifies an ability to respond more readily to the tensions of rapid change.

It should be clear that the study, as reflected both by the introduction and by the identification of issues and propositions presented here, and in these two chapters, is not primarily a descriptive study of associations, but an attempt to gauge the usefulness of particular approaches to an understanding of the process of ethnogenesis, in terms of its relation to ethnic associational behaviour and in terms of what it enables us to say about ethnic politics at a local level.

### CHAPTER THREE

#### ETHNIC ASSOCIATIONS IN BRISTOL

##### Background : General

Although Bristol had long been associated with the slave trade and had grown wealthy from this and its general 'metropolis/colony' style of commerce prior to the mid-nineteenth century, there is no real history of black immigrant settlement prior to the Second World War. With the Industrial Revolution leading to ports such as Cardiff, Manchester and Liverpool supplanting Bristol, the city did not acquire dockland 'coloured quarters' as did these cities.

In 1951, while Welsh migrants into Bristol County Borough accounted for 4.5 per cent of the county's total population, those residents listed in the census as born in the 'New Commonwealth' or 'Foreign' born, accounted for only 1.12 per cent of the county's population. In 1966, these proportions were 3.96 per cent for Welsh and 2.80 per cent for New Commonwealth and Foreign. (Richmond, 1973 : 43).

An early study of race relations in Bristol estimated that in 1958, the West Indian population, composed mainly of Jamaicans, numbered less than 2,500 persons. (Lee, 1960). This study suggested that there was discrimination evident in housing and employment, and that the black immigrants were already concentrated in the older central city areas such as St Pauls, where housing stock was marked by both a high degree of multi occupation of dwellings and advanced structural decay.

The most recent statistical information available on ethnic minorities in Bristol is contained in the National Dwelling and Housing Survey (NDHS), the first stage of which was carried out between October 1977 and June 1978. The survey took a random sample of households in England varying from half per cent nationally to five per cent in areas such as Bristol. Participants in the survey were asked to indicate their ethnic origin to be chosen from

a card showing twelve different types: White, West Indian, Indian, Pakistani, Bangladeshi, Chinese, Turkish, Other Asian, African, Arab, Other and Mixed Origin. Although the main results of this survey were published in the NDHS (1978), more detailed and previously unpublished material relating to Bristol has since been made available in a Home Office memorandum prepared in May, 1980, to the Home Affairs Sub Committee on Race Relations and Immigration, for its enquiry into racial disadvantage in Bristol, following the 'disturbances' in St Pauls, April, 1980.

The NDHS showed that in 1978, just over four per cent (17,000 persons) in Bristol were recorded as belonging to non white ethnic groups. Of these just over 40 per cent (7,000 persons) indicated that they were of West Indian origin, 12 per cent (2,000 persons) of Indian origin, and 13 per cent (2,200 persons) of Pakistani origin. The remainder belonged to smaller ethnic groups or were of mixed origin. The survey found that about 40 per cent of persons West Indian, Indian or Pakistani origin were born in the U.K.

As both Lee (1960) and Richmond (1973) found, the ethnic population is concentrated in a few wards. The NDHS showed that 60 per cent of the ethnic population lived in five wards - St Pauls, District, Easton, Windmill Hill and Eastville. The proportion of ethnic groups in the population of these wards ranged from 30 per cent in St Pauls to 10 per cent in Eastville. This proportion found in St Pauls is similar to that found in the London Borough of Brent or Hackney.

On the nature of this population, the NDHS suggests that the ethnic minorities in Bristol, reflecting the national distribution for ethnic minorities, form a younger population than the white population, with 37 per cent of the ethnic minority population aged 0-14 years, 30 per cent aged 15-29 years, 19 per cent aged 30-44 years and 13 per cent aged over 45 years. Birth statistics show, in addition, that in 1978, births to mothers born in the New Commonwealth and Pakistan accounted for just over 6 per cent of all births in Bristol.

As Loo (1960) had noted the concentration of West Indians in particular in poor housing areas, and Pryco (1979) has more recently talked of the physical decay in 'Shanty Town', or St Pauls, it is worth noting what the current position is on housing.

The NDHS found that housing conditions for ethnic groups in Bristol in 1978 were similar to the average for ethnic groups in the whole of England. Nearly half of West Indian households rent from councils or housing associations as against a third of White households and only one-tenth of Indian and Pakistani households. While over two-thirds of Indian and Pakistani householders were owner-occupiers, as against a half of white householders, only one-third of West Indian householders were owner-occupiers. In terms of the quality of the housing stock, only 6 per cent of Bristol's 153,000 dwellings are substandard, compared with 9.6 in England as a whole, but the Home Office (1980 : 41) suggests that "virtually all sub-standard accommodation is in the private sector, notably in St Pauls and Totterdown."

The City Council's response to this was to declare the cities first Housing Action Areas in St Pauls, as part of a strategy of 'improving' present housing stock rather than in demolition and rebuilding. The question of housing in St Pauls has been subjected to a fairly detailed analysis at City Council level. This is reflected in the Bristol Development Plan Review (1966, rev. version 1978), the St Pauls Policy Plan (1970, with amendments to 1978) and the St Pauls Local Plan : Draft Policy Brief (n.d.). Evidence given to the Bristol Trades Union Council enquiry on St Pauls (1981) and other reports (Bristol Teachers' Association, 1980), suggest however that current policy is seen as an inadequate and piecemeal response which results in residents feeling that they still live in a blighted and neglected area. In summary, one of the most important aspects of the NDHS' findings on Bristol is that the worst housing in the city is found in the area containing the greatest number of West Indians (St Pauls) and an area containing one of

the largest number of Asians (Tottor-down). (BELTS, 1978; Ensum, 1979)

#### Background : Voluntary Associations

Richmond's (1973) survey of migration and race relations in Bristol provide some evidence of participation in voluntary associations a decade before the present study commenced. Unfortunately, the most recent study (Pryce, 1979) of Bristol's Black community does not discuss associational ties as an aspect of its examination of 'life styles', except in passing, so this study by Richmond remains the most comprehensive to date.

Richmond found that the inhabitants of his survey area (St Pauls and surrounding area) were not lacking primary group relationships with kith and kin, but he also went on to measure the importance played by secondary relationships of a more formal type.

The survey asked questions about religious groups, trade unions, public house groups, national or other social clubs, sports clubs and any formal association mentioned by respondents. While they found that half the adult population belonged to no groups or associations of this kind, there were some discernible characteristics in the half who did belong. West Indian skilled manual workers were the most active in associations. Richmond (1973 : 172) notes that "whereas only 4 per cent of the adult population of the area were members of three or more such groups, 13 per cent of the West Indian skilled workers had membership in at least three associations."

Immigrants from the West Indies, India and Pakistan were more likely than the British born to be members of a religious group, and while skilled manual workers had the lowest rate of participation in this sort of organization, 34 per cent of this group, compared with 27 per cent of the British-born group, were members of trade unions. As far as associations representing national groups were concerned, while 11 per cent of the general adult population belonged to such a group, 24 per cent of West Indian males did so.



Overall, Richmond (1973 : 171) found that, "immigrant associations played a comparatively small part in the life of the area and no associations of a community type were formed by the native population to protect their interests or those of the neighbourhood as a whole." Very importantly, Richmond went on to observe that, "although some stores had begun to specialize in foods and other commodities imported from the West Indies or Asia and a few professionals such as doctors and lawyers drew some of their clientele from fellow countrymen, there is no evidence of the ... institutional completeness and extensive duplication of facilities and services that, for example, characterize many immigrant groups in Canada."

In terms of who they would approach in an emergency such as accident or illness, 39 per cent they would turn to a relative, 48 per cent to a friend or neighbour and 8 per cent to a social work agency. West Indians were however, the least likely to seek help from kin.

While Richmond notes that in the previous twelve months 75 per cent of the population had used a 'social agency', with Irish women having the most frequent contact (44 per cent contacted three or more in twelve months), he does not note unfortunately, the numbers that sought help from ethnic associations or religious groups, as an alternative to, or prior to, consulting a formal agency.

In terms of earlier development, Richmond notes that in 1958, the Council of Social Service appointed a full time welfare advisory officer to assist 'coloured immigrants' with problems of adjustment, but a lack of funds led to a curtailment of this experimental provision. In the early 1960's, some of this sort of function was assumed by a Council of Churches voluntary committee which coordinated the activities of agencies engaged in direct intervention in 'welfare' matters with West Indians and Asians. By the mid 1960's several local committees made up of government officials, church leaders and 'welfare workers' with a few black representatives, were seeking

to carry out this coordinating task. Richmond (1973 : 44) suggests that "one effect of creating 'official' integration committees was to make it more difficult for the immigrants committees to organize themselves", and he notes that at this time there were three Indian and Pakistani associations, two West Indian associations and two coordinating bodies, but these associations "commanded only minority support and competed with each other for the allegiance of their own ethnic group." In addition to this, it was noted that "factional tendencies in the various ethnic groups of first generation coloured immigrants were very strong."

The earliest Indian immigrants to Bristol were seamen who had married English women, followed by professional men, mainly doctors and students who remained and set up in business. The third and largest group consisted of Urdu speaking Indians and Pakistanis from the Punjab, North West Pakistan and Bengali speaking immigrants from East Pakistan. In this early period - the 'migrant phase', Richmond (1973 : 45) notes that "The Indo-Pakistani population was divided by nationality, language and religion as well as residual caste and class differences. Caste and village kin associations continued to play an important part in the lives of the immigrants who maintained close contact with their families at home."

Having noted that "primary group relations based on kinship appeared to be far more influential in the lives of Indian and Pakistani migrants than the formal associations ...", Richmond goes on to suggest that in the early stages of development of these associations in Bristol, "the influences dividing the members were generally stronger than those tending towards solidarity," and that "the nationalist associations catered for only a small proportion of their potential supporters in Bristol and their leaders tended to become embroiled in factional conflict."

The evidence from the 50's, 60's, late 70's and early 80's referred to in this brief review of material on Bristol suggests that there is some continuity in respect of the physical characteristics of the area of greatest

black settlement, while there has been a shift in the pattern of migration, with New Commonwealth and Foreign migrants coming to constitute the largest group of immigrants in that time. The literature deals with predominantly first generation immigrants, and therefore does not distinguish organizational and associational behaviour characteristics of a 'post-migrant' phase from that of a 'migrant' phase of settlement. This is the main concern of this study, and this earlier material provides both a useful starting point, and an obvious point of comparison, for the present study of voluntary associations in ethnic communities in Bristol.

#### Ethnic Associations in Bristol

In contrast to the small handful of ethnic associations and 'co-ordinating committees' which Richmond (1973) found in 1965 in Bristol, by 1976 when this study commenced, the local directory of 'associated organizations' prepared by the then Bristol Community Relations Council showed the following: 10 Asian Associations; the Bristol Asian Council, an umbrella organization for the Asian Associations; six West Indian associations, one of which was designated a community centre, and an advice centre with a predominantly West Indian clientele. These numbers were relatively unchanged at the conclusion of the period of study, 1981, although the nature of some of the organizations had changed over this time. These changes, although covered briefly in this present chapter, will be placed within the context of organizational change, ethnic politics and ethnic group behaviour, and detailed in the following chapter.

One difficulty encountered in determining which associations' behaviour should be used to assess the utility of the concept and the propositions, ought to be mentioned at this point, as in a sense, the making of this decision necessarily had to pre-empt the analysis to a certain extent. The difficulty concerned the role of the two 'community service' facilities in the St Pauls area - the St Pauls Advice Centre (Albert Villa) and St Pauls

Area Community Enterprise (the Ink Works), and whether strictly speaking, they could be considered as ethnic associations. It was decided to include them in the study as they involved substantial attempts to make a direct service provision in the West Indian community, and from an early stage in the study it became evident that these two centres, in different ways were providing both a focus and a leadership to the growing Rastafarian community in Bristol, and that this in itself needed to be assessed in terms of its implications for understanding ethnic group formation processes in the West Indian community.

The rest of this chapter will be used to briefly introduce a number of West Indian and Asian associations. There are obvious gaps in the associations covered, given the indications in the literature. No churches or church connected associations in the West Indian community are referred to. This reflects an access problem rather than a conscious decision in the design of the study, and will be discussed in chapter six in more detail.<sup>(9)</sup>

#### West Indian Parents and Friends Association

The W.I.P.F.A. had its origins in the Colonial Association, a small group with a West Indian membership and white leadership, formed in the 1950's. The Chairman of the WIPFA throughout the period 1976-1981, Owen Henry, was a member of the Colonial Association but resented the name which he felt was "a torment to my memory", as it represented a liberal white group motivated by sympathy but little understanding. After being a member of the association for one year, Henry became Chairman in 1959 and changed the name to the West Indian Association which was seen as a "self-help and West Indian publicising organization", and it was at this point that the association shed most of its white membership. This association lasted for two years until 1961, when a number of splinter groups were formed from its membership. Owen Henry sees the split as due to "some members were dragged out of it by others who wanted control over their own organizations, while others simply

wanted to be loaders."

With this proliferation of West Indian associations, the core of the West Indian Association, maintaining its role as the primary West Indian grouping, formed the Commonwealth Coordinating Committee, to coordinate the activities of the other groups. As these smaller groups disbanded however, the need for a coordinating committee decreased, and the CCC folded in May 1970. The Committee enjoyed little support at a grass roots level, primarily it seems, because its coordinating role was misunderstood, with executive committee members being approached to deal with individual difficulties such as passport problems - a task which they felt was outside their sphere of competence, and not consistent with their declared aims.

Although Pryce (1974) suggests that white support was crucial to its function, no evidence of this was found by the present study. Although competing factions and leadership competition had been given as a reason for the folding of the West Indian Association, this has also been given as the reason for the demise of the CCC. As one former member put it to Pryce (1974 : 483), "in West Indian organizations you find that everybody wants to lead and since everybody can't lead there is a lot of friction and personal clashes between individuals and sooner or later the organization breaks up, which is expected, since you really can't run an organization like that."

While the membership disbanded, some to provide the leadership in other associations, the executive of the CCC, in May 1970 formed the West Indian Parents and Friends Association with the present chairman of the Barbados and Caribbean Friends Association as its inaugural chairman. The change in name reflected the shift in function from that of a coordinating body to one that identified a major issue around which to focus - that of education in general, and underachievement of black children in schools, in particular. At the time of the association's formation, the chairman described the objectives of the association as inculcating "a sense of mutual responsibility between parents and schools, to assist the relationship between home and school,

provide the means whereby the parents can get to know more of education and social matters and through which they can help their children to make a good adjustment to this society."

In the early stages of development of the association, a number of the members wished to support Ronald James, a Jamaican, who was campaigning against discrimination in the hiring policy of the Bristol Omnibus Company, but because "the main group of members did not want to be involved in political activity", a small group formed the Development Council specifically to fight on this issue.

The Association retains a concern with education as the primary stated aim, although in addition to providing a linkage service between parents and schools, they now aim "to make black youth more conscious of their culture and background". As the present chairman put it, "we are very concerned with the position of blacks within the Social Services, the legal and education structures, and we have been particularly concerned that the education system does not enable black youth to be channelled into these systems as functionaries or as affective consumers because of inadequate teaching and the inadequate careers counselling they get in school."

The Association is concerned that black youth will fail to realise their potential not only because of these factors, but because there are so few role models of successful blacks for them to use. To redress the situation, the Association in 1976, took a party of 17 young people to Jamaica "in the hope that they would see that there is a place where blacks are employed at all levels, and this it was hoped, would motivate them in seeking employment." Since the opening of the Avon County Education Department's Multi Cultural Education Centre, which the association sees as taking over much of its 'educational' function, it has branched out into other areas, notably housing, and work with single parents.

#### National Community Growth and Support Association

This Association was formed in 1974 after the chairperson, Olive Osborne was invited to Birmingham by James Hunte and his co-worker Mr Sayeed to take part in their campaign against pyramid selling, which prior to being made illegal, had disproportionately affected West Indians who had bought positions in the sales branches of organizations such as 'Holiday Magic'.

Rex and Tomlinson (1979) discuss the national campaign in some detail, in the context of discussing associational behaviour in Handsworth so only the local Bristol development will be discussed here. At Mr Sayeed's invitation, Mrs Osborne started a branch of the national association in Bristol with weekly meetings in her home. Although the impetus for forming the Association had come from a concern with the effects of large scale financial loss amongst West Indian communities, and the desire to negotiate with banks and finance companies to wipe the debts incurred by their West Indian borrowers, Mrs Osborne quickly identified a preventative role, for the Association. She felt that much of the problem was caused by a lack of education or sophistication in financial and commercial matters, so that work should be done with children to assure that the problem would not arise again. To this end, the meetings of the Association became broadened into discussions about the education of young blacks, both in terms of its relevance and in terms of access. Mrs Osborne admits that having identified a need, she needed to ensure the continued survival of the group and suggests that, "if I just concentrate on pyramid, then once thats over, there's no need for the group, and we knew that the issues facing us were bigger than just pyramid."

Having now identified education as a primary area of interest, the Association worked towards formalizing this interest, and in 1977, after Mrs Osborne had given up her job as a specialist West Indian hairdresser in St Pauls, the Association initiated a series of literacy classes and a summer school located at the St Pauls Area Community Enterprise (SPACE) centre ( referred to hereafter by its more usual name, derived from its

location in a 'disused inkworks factory as 'the Inkworks'). Recognising the possible effects of a lack of black teaching staff in local schools and a lack of 'black' teaching materials, the Association used all black staff to do the teaching as they "... could offer something to the children, especially those who have problems about identity, colour or consciousness." In 1978, 50-60 children aged 5-14 years attended the summer school, which was staffed by black unemployed young people, or secondary school students on holiday.

The Association has offered a range of services to young people, such as a coffee bar, a regular disco and a Christmas party each year, with little funding, other than a seeding grant by the Commission for Racial Equality and financial aid from the Bristol Council for Racial Equality for the summer schools. Much of the energy of the Association, apart from providing these services, and a direct 'casework' service either in conjunction with, or as an alternative to the local Social Services Department, was spent in the period 1974-1978 in fund raising to buy a mini bus and establish a permanent base.

The Association has a low key, informal approach in its administrative/organizational style, and while there is an executive committee and a bank account, no minutes are kept of meetings and there is no written constitution. Interestingly, Mrs Osborne suggests that although they are bound by the national constitution of the original Birmingham association of which NCGSA is technically a regional branch, there is no local constitution as "if you draw one up in the beginning, you always end up working away from it, to find out what you should be doing, and we know the direction we are going in, so don't need a constitution."

Increasingly, since about 1978, and with the growing emphasis on enhancing self esteem through the summer schools for example, the Association has seen its role as increasing consciousness. As Mrs Osborne has remarked, "One has got to talk about consciousness. The black man has to become



conscious and aware. Although we would like to be a multi racial organization, I'm not too worried about the lack of white involvement in the association, as we need to work out for ourselves about our colonial past. As I tell the young people - 'Don't believe all that the white man says. Find out for yourselves'."

That this need to understand the past and work towards a viable identity is seen as a political aim, even though the Association sees itself in non political terms, is evidenced by Mrs Osborne's comment that, "If you begin to think, and you try to think consciously, you must become aware ... They have no culture. What has happened to their culture? Even if you go back into history. That is something I have to know ... if you find your own culture, you will have a sense of pride. Unless you understand the past and how it affects your position now, all you're left with is a directionless hate. Even when you know who your oppressor is, hate is not enough in itself. We need something more positive and that is seeing how our history and our culture were made, so we can have self respect."

The Association is seen by its executive as a grass roots communal association, even though its membership is primarily Jamaican. The membership comprises mainly working mothers, many of whom are single parents, and many of whom are employed in service occupations - mental health nurses, general nurses, Home Help aids etc. Although the Association prides itself on not having professional people such as teachers and social workers as members, from 1978 they agreed to have attached to them a Rowntree Trust funded and Quaker sponsored 'community education' worker, whose task was defined as working in the white community to increase knowledge and enhance attitude change about ethnic cultures, particularly West Indian culture.

The education functions were to a large extent taken over by this white worker and a group of members, which left Mrs Osborne to consolidate a shift in focus that had been developing throughout 1979. While always working to

retain a direct service function, reflected in the provision of counselling and parentcraft classes for young single mothers, the Association adopted in 1979 and formalized in 1980, a broader 'community' focus to its work.

This broader focus is reflected in two ways, by the representation of the NCGSA chairperson on the executives of other associations, and by establishing a forum for articulating community level concerns as distinct from sectional interests. Mrs Osborne (about whom one of the executive committee members had said, "when you say NCGSA, you should just say 'Olive' as she is the association. It does what she wants and it expresses her personality") was a member of the executive of the Bristol Council for Racial Equality, and was on the management committees of the Inkworks, the St Pauls Advice Centre, Caribbean Community Enterprise, International Youth Exchange and the Pioneer Council (for homeless black youth). Her own opinion on this, was that overlapping membership of management committees and executives of associations was the rule amongst ethnic associations in Bristol, both West Indian and Asian to some extent, because the pool of available leaders was so small. The NCGSA being represented widely at the level of associational membership, enabled it to engage in consultations with the police on methods of policing in St Pauls, and in generating publicity for a Bristol youth charged in London on 'sus' with a degree of legitimacy based on 'representative West Indian opinion'.

It also led to the Association convening the 'St Pauls and District Community Workers' Group' which provided a forum for discussion of broader environmental, and more directly ethnic concerns with other associations and representatives of the police, Probation and Social Services.

#### Bristol Caribbean Community Enterprise

This Association had its origins in 1975, following the Gulbenkian Foundation sponsored, 'Way Forward Conference' which led to the establishing of a number of self help groups in Bristol. Some of the members were drawn

from the Bristol Black Social Workers Association, but an attempt to merge the two failed in September 1975. There does not appear to be any evidence of the survival of this Social Workers Association past this point.

The Association established in October 1975, the Caribbean Institute of Arts and Culture which operated from a store front in Easton, an area adjacent to St Pauls with a high level of West Indian and Asian settlement, which differs from St Pauls in terms of its higher level of home ownership.

The policy of the Institute "was to put the accent firmly on youth and young people and to avoid sectarian idealism". It saw itself as a communal association and from its office published a quarterly newsletter and ran a welfare benefits information service and casework counselling service. Although no records were kept with which to measure the extent that the service was used, the Institute was granted five workers, funded by the Manpower Services Commission (MSC) Job Creation Programme, to staff it.

Although the primary point of connection with the West Indian community in which it was located was the casework service they offered, the Institute newsletters revealed that it had a broader aim. The October 1976 issue of the Caribbean Institute Gazette notes (p.6) that "The Bristol Caribbean Community Enterprise was set up for charitable aim only, by a number of prominent members of the immigrant community and other people associated with, or working among, the immigrant people, for the purpose of establishing a Bristol Caribbean Institute to provide Information, Advice and Assistance with correspondence for the literally handicapped parents and adults; and Education, Training and Guidance in the Arts and Culture for the lesser privileged young people."

This Institute of Arts and Culture would incorporate a school of music and a Youth Orchestra, a school of dancing, and a school of speech and drama. The Project Director and founder, Roy de Freitas, an ex-serviceman and ex-jazz trumpeter with a dynamic entrepreneurial style of community work and organizational management wrote in the Gazette that he "strongly felt that

unless a comprehensive programme is initiated for developing young people of immigrant culture, their ethnic cultural arts would disappear within 2 or 3 generations." While the project was intended to meet this need, it was also to provide 'community harmony through community arts' by "containing and sustaining over two hundred black, white and coloured youths per annum; coming from all over Avon and Bristol, and supporting them in part time evening and weekend pursuits in Artistic and Culture Training and education... Although the Aims are to provide a service training for a large number of deprived young people of Caribbean culture throughout Bristol, youths from the English and Asian communities will be encouraged to join in, and actively participate in all the Institutes Projects so as to provide a Racially Harmonious Balance; a Pluralistic Image; and an exchange of culture." (Gazette, October 1976, p.7)

In 1976, having failed to realize the aims of the Project due to shortage of funds and lack of suitable premises, the Institute approached the Diocese of Bristol to take over the redundant Holy Trinity Church in St Phillips. Planning permission was obtained in January 1978, and by July 1978, the building was used for the first time to accommodate some of the events of the St Pauls' Festival. Finance for the Project was a £3,000 grant from the Commission for Racial Equality and a grant of £3,000 from the Gulbenkian Foundation. For the 1979/80 financial year, the Project had an assured income of £90,000, which included £35,000 from MSC and £38,000 from CRE - although most of this was for building workers undertaking conversion work, rather than capital expenditure. This is important, as the Institute (now known as the Trinity Church Project) was unable to fulfil its aim of providing a cultural education programme because of the need to use the building for fund raising events.

In the period October 1976 to July 1977 when the Trinity Church Project was initiated, there was a fundamental shift in the priorities of the Institute. The primacy previously given to the 'arts' in the educational

aims was replaced by a wish to provide workshop facilities, under the control of a 'resident chief instructor', providing instruction in motor repairs, welding, cabinet making, and a number of other industrial and craft skills, the most important one of which was boat building. In addition the need was envisaged for a family counsellor who would be a 'specialist in social, domestic and ethnic problems' and who would staff an information, advice and counselling centre "for individuals and families which will not merely give advice, but will assist people in representing themselves and dealing with their personal problems and give expert help and advice where needed in preparing cases to put before Government Tribunals (i.e. industrial, educational, rent, race relations, immigration)."

In part, the change of emphasis of the Project, in making youth unemployment the major issue of concern, also generated a shift from the Institute seeing itself as primarily a West Indian communal facility to seeing itself as a multi racial facility, "since both black and white youngsters in the inner city have the same social, educational and employment problems ... the Institute ... is now more concerned with getting the right foundation for a meaningful assault on the growing alienation of black young people and the disillusion of young whites." (Caribbean Community Enterprise, 'A proposal to purchase Wick Court', June 1979).

In June 1979, as a result of an informal review of the Project necessitated by the preparation of publicity material for fund raising to purchase a residential centre for the Institute (the £100,000, 16th century Wick Court), the Institute, having affirmed that youth unemployment was the main issue, determined to tackle this by a programme of compensatory education, rather than by providing trade workshops as it had previously planned.

The Institute joined the National Federation of Community Self Help, and stated its objective (Urban Aid Application, June 1979) as "to move away from the 'old fashioned inward looking' Community Centre to a more progressive

'outward looking' Centro with all 'Outreach' officers working in the community, providing an 'in-depth service'." These outreach officers were to reflect the three areas of community intervention that had been identified by the Institute at various times, as its priority areas - there was to be a community development officer, to develop welfare and welfare training services; a community education officer to investigate needs and develop appropriate training courses; and a community arts development officer.

A principle aim of the Institute was here given as: "(i) To run a structural educational 'homework' programme so that teachers can help promising pupils who are unable to work at home; (ii) to run a structural multi cultural 'supplementary education programme' possibly with some inservice training using the ethnic minority community as the basis for black ethnic studies; and (iii) to run a structural multi cultural community and social work training course open to both post and pre qualified social workers."

In furtherance of this aim, a local College of Higher Education was approached to explore the possibility of the Institute becoming an annexe of the College, and a series of 'Equal Opportunities in Education Workshops' were initiated to explore the possibility of providing bridging courses for teaching and social work courses.

In 1979, the Advice Centre reopened in the original store front office, and with CRE funding, an Assistant Director (Education) and an Assistant Director (Community Development) were employed. The welfare post was filled by a student on placement from the University social work course. At this time also, mother tongue language classes, Hindi courses and courses in classical Indian dancing were initiated, following the appointment of an Indian teacher to the Education post.

By May 1980, the workshops were not functioning as training workshops, but some training was being given in the renovation programme of the Church;

the Advico Centre had closed due to lack of ability to staff it, and due to government policy, MSC funding for the Special Temporary Employment Scheme had ended. The Trinity Church Project then moved into a different phase, with an attempt being made, instead of meeting the needs of unemployed black youth (the priority had reverted to black youth only) at the Project, to send them to work camps in Guyana. Permission was granted by the Guyanese government in 1981 for this to go ahead.

#### St Pauls Area Community Enterprise - The Inkworks

The Inkworks, a community centre situated in Hepburn Road in the heart of St Pauls, in a disused inkworks factory, refused to take part in this study, and all members of the executive were instructed not to hold interviews, after a public meeting of users of the centre voted against participation in the study. While this refusal was motivated by factors extrinsic to this particular study, to be discussed more fully in chapter six, the 'democratic' style of decision making, where users had the power to make a decision on participation, is characteristic of this particular association, and characteristic of the changes that have occurred within the organization since its formation in 1974.

In early 1977 when discussions were first held with members of the management committee, the Director gave an undertaking of full cooperation. When the meeting with the users was held, the management committee had agreed to participate only if it could be guaranteed that the association would benefit directly from the study, and had agreed that the users were the best judge of this.

The simplest explanation for this change of attitude is that the initial agreement was given by the white director of a multi racial community association; while the later arrangement was made by the black director of a West Indian association pursuing a programme of militant cultural nationalism, which by 1981 would have turned the centre into the largest

Rastafarian contro in the South West of England. How did this change come about?

The Inkworks was originally 'discovered' by a small group of white residents and voluntary welfare workers in St Pauls, during a search for suitable premises for a full time day nursery, in March 1973. It is a large centre - 14 rooms, 2 auditorium spaces and a third area of open space. It had been compulsorily acquired by the City Planning Office in 1972 as a short life property to be demolished in 12 years time for a new road scheme.

After a series of local meetings of residents and interested professionals on the proposed use of the building, the organiser, Jane Ryan identified three main problems: "That the group was middle class and white, and not representative of St Pauls; that we were being criticized by those who thought that we were justifying the scheme because of the existence of the building, rather than the existence of needs in the area; and that there was no action, which caused great demoralization and fast fading interest, and a fast turnover of people involved." (SPACE, Organisers Report, 1974)

To counter these problems, the scope of the project was widened, and the Inkworks were seen as having the potential to fulfil a broader need - for a community centre, rather than simply a day nursery, even though this remained a priority as there were 60 children on the waiting list for day nursery places in St Pauls, most of whom were West Indian.

In October 1973 the Bristol City Planning Committee granted permission for the factory to be used for 2 years as a community centre, with a renewal being automatic if need and use could be proved in that time. Initial enthusiasm lapsed as building work was delayed, but after a multi racial building team of volunteers began work, momentum increased, as did fund raising activity, and the first staff were engaged on nominal salaries until the Avon County supported Urban Aid application for £40,000 had been granted.

When the Inkworks opened, its aims and objectives were described in



the management committee document, 'St Pauls - its facilities and the Inkworks' (1974 : 1), as: "To make available material facilities that otherwise are not available in St Pauls due to the overall poverty of the area; to provide space for recreational activities of all ages but especially for school aged children and young adults; to provide non academic educational programmes according to demand; to aid and encourage social integration in the St Pauls area; to diminish the number of children on the waiting list of the two Local Authority day nurseries; and to provide special social resources to relieve the suffering caused to those who are homeless or living in slum conditions."

Although quite clearly attempting to duplicate some local authority functions in the social services sphere (day nursery, provision for the homeless) and despite being supported in the Urban Aid application by the Social Services Committee, after having been turned down by the Education Committee, there was no attempt at this stage to formalize any consultative or liaison procedures with Social Services, or any other County Department. This remained the pattern, after the appointment of a full time white director, who expanded the educational and cultural programmes that the centre was running. Facilities for dealing with the effects of homelessness, an early area of concern, were not programmed into the Centre's functioning, going instead to the St Pauls Advice Centre, under the direction of the Cyronians. There was still an attempt to raise funds and develop programmes on the basis of the Inkworks being a multi racial centre, but in 1977, the white female director was replaced by Errol Nelson, a West Indian, and former director of the Ashley Road Adventure Playground. Under his directorship, the centre increasingly became a venue for reggae bands, West Indian youth theatre, a black Kung Fu group and very importantly, a base for Rastafarians to hold services. Throughout 1977 all functions of the centre, other than Rastafarian dominated cultural functions, and education functions in the form of summer schools or supplementary classes and literacy classes,

were dropped. The educational programme itself reflected a more rigorous pursuit of this line of cultural distinctiveness, by offering in addition to its numeracy and literacy teaching, instruction in African languages and classes on African culture.

When this Director resigned to undertake a social work course, the Directorship was taken over by a management committee member who was chairperson at the time of the Black Womens' Wages for Housework Campaign, who attempted to introduce a black feminist strand into the political and cultural identity being created for the centre, but met with little success. This appointment followed a very significant court appearance by the management of the centre, which had been prosecuted under the Control of Pollution Act, 1974 for noise associated with "ethnic drumming", emanating from Rastafarian services.

While this episode is dealt with in detail in the next chapter, it is worth noting here that the main outcome of it was to lead to an affirmation of the direction the centre was taking - that it was a Rastafarian centre and not a community centre. The new director's style, in not contributing to this affirmation was deemed to be irrelevant, and a new Director was appointed with a commitment to the Rastafarian users, and a Rasta community arts officer's appointment by the new director was seen as proof that the movement by the centre towards greater inclusiveness and militancy would be continued.

#### St Pauls Advice Centre - 'Albert Villa'

The centre had its origins in June 1972, when it was opened as the YWCA St Pauls Project, run by a management committee composed of YWCA personnel and members and a small number of welfare professionals and academics. This St Pauls project was initiated in 1968 on a three year grant from the YWCA, and worked towards setting up the centre after it was decided that a priority need for the area was to increase coordination between voluntary groups. No records were kept of operations, until September

1973, when a white female community worker was appointed on what she termed a "vague job description to work in an agency that was working in isolation from other agencies, particularly the statutory ones and furthermore, which was underused, and had no form of record keeping or accounting."

From 60 enquiries per week in September 1973, the centre was handling 125-150 enquiries per week by February 1974. In addition to this low level casework and welfare rights counselling, the centre was used as a meeting place by the Prisoners Wives' Group; the Cyrenians, operating a soup kitchen for the single homeless (mainly white); the Bristol Icebreakers, a telephone counselling service for homosexuals; and the centre director was represented on the St Pauls Festival Committee and the Inkworks management committee.

In August 1974, the St Pauls Residents Association was set up, "to fight the councils' proposals to knock down and redevelop a large area between Grosvenor Road and City Road." The Association felt this area ought to be improved, and after a vigorous media and lobbying campaign, succeeded in having the area declared in December 1974, a housing action (improvement) area. Two workers from the centre reinforced this interest in housing/environmental issues by participation in the Joint Housing Action Group, to campaign for facilities for the homeless.

Operating with a seeding grant from Christian Aid, the centre applied for Urban Aid which was declined. The centre had been listed nineteenth of twenty two applications in terms of priority, by Avon County Council. Funding for 1971-3 had come from Urban Aid; for 1974 from private donations and from 1975-6 from the YWCA, donations and an emergency grant from Avon Social Services. The 1975 Urban Aid application was therefore critical to their continued functioning. In this application the centre's function in providing a 'neutral, non official meeting place' was emphasised. It was seen as a venue for police and West Indian youth to meet; as a reference point for homeless West Indian youth, and as a resource for housing action

groups.

A second and successful Urban Aid application in 1975 emphasised a different aspect of the centre's functioning when it stated the objectives of the application as "to preserve an essential and established casework and advice service ... to provide a Community Legal Service ... appropriate to the special and complex legal problems presented by the community of St Pauls".

By early 1976, two major changes, one concerned with structure and one concerned with function had taken place. Firstly, the cessation of functioning of the Housing Advisory Group heralded a decline of programmatic involvement, if not interest, in the housing area, mainly due to the Bristol City Council Housing Department establishing a Housing Aid Centre within the Housing Action area and taking over the function of the Advisory Group. Secondly, the director at this time felt that the management structure of the centre was more appropriate to an earlier phase of organizational development and a different set of priorities and that this management structure needed to be changed.

In the 'Final Report of the Community Worker - St Pauls Project, September 1973 - February 1976', the director notes that the centre, with a YWCA dominated Management Committee and a House Committee comprised of user group representatives, was static in terms of policy development, and that the lack of an effective working relationship between the two committees stopped user needs and priorities being responded to by changes in policy. To overcome this, the two committees were merged, giving the users greater power over decision making - a development which mirrored the changing organizational structure of the Inkworke, towards a non hierarchical style of decision making.

At this time, with £11,000 of Urban Aid funding guaranteed for 1976/7, the centre advertised for two community work posts. In order to ensure 'community acceptability' of the appointments, the management committee

meeting on May 7th, 1976 resolved that local West Indian groups, for example the West Indian Parent and Friends Association should meet the applicants in order to express a preference. The eventual appointment of a Rastafarian qualified social worker to one of the posts marked the beginning of a crisis within the Management Committee, and the minutes of the Management Committee meeting of the 8th June 1976, which confirmed the appointment, also record that the Chairperson resigned, and although the substance of the debate preceding the resignation was not recorded, it is reported that the Chairperson favoured a white candidate.

A member of the management committee suggested of this incident that "it was not a racial issue. It was a difficult situation in which the chairperson was in possession of information about a candidate that would have been libellous to declare in public, and the nature of this information made her fear for the renewal of their Urban Aid grant, as a politically influential person had been deeply offended by the behaviour of this candidate. It was never a black/white thing. Just personal."

The issue became a highly contentious public one however, in which allegations of racism at worst, and bias at best were made. The Bristol Community Relations Council Annual Report, 1976, suggested that "all efforts were made to ensure an all white staff to work in the largest multi racial area in Bristol." This was denied in a letter to the Chairman of the BCRC from the Centres' Management Committee, in August, which stated, "While we very much regret the circumstances under which the chairman of the management committee resigned, at no time did she use the threat of resignation to put pressure on the rest of the committee to decide in favour of any other candidate: her resignation was announced after a decision had been reached."

A white management committee member, one of a group of Quakers with long histories of involvement in race relations in Bristol, in a letter of resignation (19.8.76) stated that "... the issues at stake are not racialist but have become a clash of personalities," and a letter from Arthur Palmer M.P.

to this committee member (16.9.76) expressed concern at the divisions taking place and noted that, "I hear there are strong differences of opinion about the way Albert Villa should be run."

Some of those differences were evident in an August, 'constitution sub committee' meeting at which the main issue was continued affiliation to the YWCA. This meeting resolved (minutes, n.d.) "that the centre must be responsible only to the community and must therefore be free of association" from any organization that had a power of decision making over the centres' functioning. Concern had been expressed about the detrimental affect on the centre of the perception in the black community of its attachment to a 'conservative white organization'.

This movement towards greater accountability to the users of the centre, taken to be representative of 'the St Pauls community' gained momentum during 1977, and culminated in a meeting held at the Inkworks (about half of whose management committee also sat on the management committee of Albert Villas) to discuss the operationalizing of a new constitution. The constitution was adopted, and in January 1978, the first Annual General Meeting of the St Pauls Advice Centre Association was held under the chairmanship of Geoff Grayson, a senior probation officer, and chairman of the Inkworks management committee. Ethnic associations such as National Community Growth and Support were represented, along with other 'services' such as the multi racial Youth Housing Association and the Multi Racial Youth hostel.

In June 1978, a report entitled 'Annual programme 1978/9 from users services committee for consideration by interim general meeting, June 1978', noted that two job creation scheme workers would finish in 1978, while two unemployed school leavers would be employed under the Avon Youth Opportunities Programme. The report concluded that "the existing financial constraint is considered to be crucial to the appropriate development of the Advice Centre in respect of user services", however, the centre was able to employ three Welfare Rights Trainees and one Supervisor under the MSC Special Temporary

Employment Scheme from June 1979 until May 1980. As a result of the 'disturbances' of 2nd April, 1980 the United Defence Committee was established with the centre 'team leader' or director acting as Chairperson of that committee, which was involved in coordinating legal aid and fund raising to assist those charged with offences ranging from theft to riot.

#### Indian Association

This association was established in 1947, following India's independence, and is Bristol's longest running ethnic association. It appears to have operated for many years as a purely social 'club' meeting in a hotel in the city, to mark particular events, such as Independence Day and Gandhi's birthday, although this was not always strictly kept to, hence its designation by a later Chairman of it, as a 'social club'.

At this time, the membership of about 10, was comprised mainly of skilled labourers, artisans and shopkeepers. None of the city's Indian doctors or lawyers were members. This was explained by Mr Sanyasi, the chairman in 1976, as due to the fact that, "these people, the professionals like lawyers did not want to associate with other Indians in this way. They got a lot of business from the Indian community, but to be accepted as professionals, they had to mix socially with whites. They never mixed with us, or made donations to the association. In this way they had the best of both worlds partly, but also did not fit into either. We could have been a stronger association with their involvement."

All of the members in the period 1949-1972 were from the subcontinent, with the exception of a few members drawn from Kenyan Asian families after 1969. In 1972, a number of Ugandan Asian families, mainly from Kampala settled after a short period in a refugee camp in Somerset. Hari Joshi, a teacher from Kampala enquired about the existence of an Indian Association, and was put in touch with Mr Sanyasi by an Asian grocer. After being a member for six months, he was elected vice president, and then spent 2½ years

as president, from 1976 to 1978, after which an Asian language broadcaster at BBC Bristol, Mr Mehra, became president.

Mr Joshi believes that it was the Ugandan Asians who were "the prime movers in the Indian Association, and were not only the group that developed it, but made it into a true community organization for all Asian people." He suggests that there "is no reason to explain why the Kenyan Asians had not involved themselves more and sought executive positions, as they were generally speaking, more skilled in political life than the people running the association in the late 60's."

Although in 1972, the Association was comprised mainly of Hindus, this period marked a turning point with the Association pursuing a policy of communalism, reflected in the admission of one or two Sikhs to executive positions. This was made easier by the fact that the Sikhs shared many of the celebrations of the Hindus, such as the Festival of Light, (DIWALI) and were able to be absorbed into the festival calendar, the celebration of which, at that time were the main business of the Association. It was also made necessary, as the Association, in order to maintain its viability had to widen its membership, as the Hindus were moving towards the formation of a separate association.

During the 2½ years of his presidency of the association, Mr Joshi came to feel that "the women were particularly lonely, often at home unable to speak English, and the elderly were becoming cut off from the rest of the community. What was missing was religion. The Indian Association was alright for men who wanted an organization that could be social and political, but this was only part of the community." To counter this situation, Mr Joshi circulated the approximately 120 Hindu families in Bristol in 1976 about the setting up of the Sanatan Dooevya Mandal ('Universal Divine Association'). For the first three years of its existence, 1976-1978, the Mandal worked in close cooperation with the Indian Association, with each association sharing executive committee members and celebrating festivals jointly. After this



time however, the Mandal grew apart, as it pursued a vigorous policy of acquiring premises.

Sanatan Dharma Mandal ('Universal Divine Association')

Unlike the Indian Association, the Mandal never saw itself as a communal association, but one operationalizing a sectional interest, although interestingly a small number of Ugandan Muslims attend the Mandal - a move only opposed by the more orthodox Hindus because they do not have reciprocal rights at the Bristol Mosque. With a membership of about 300, over 200 of whom are from East Africa, the Association believes that it incorporates all but the few "high status" professionals who also have no contact with the Indian Association. The executive contains a mixture of Hindus from Kenya and from Uganda, and while it is not very usual to have women as members of the executive committee, they are 'accommodated' by a subcommittee structure whereby two members of the executive coopt up to five ordinary members to form a 'special purpose' sub committee, such as one to coordinate activities in the 'nine nights festival' (NAV RATI).

All of the executive committee members, in the 1977-1979 period had prior experience of leadership roles in Kenya and Uganda, although none of these was in a primarily religious organization, but 'social' and 'cultural' associations, such as the Mahatma Gandhi Association which Mr Joshi founded in Kampala to celebrate the centenary of Gandhi's birth. Most of the executive had experience in the Kala Kandra a 'fine arts centre' which organized music festivals and a country wide drama competition in Uganda and Kenya.

This administrative experience is valued, and the Association declares that caste distinctions are not relevant to their functioning. While this may be the official position, a number of executive committee members, have expressed unease about the autocratic leaderships style of Mr Joshi, which has been characterized as 'Brahmin elitism' by one committee member, although

other committee members say that the vigour of his 'dignified' entrepreneurial style outweighs any disadvantages of an autocratic management style.

The constitution of the Association describes its aims and objects as "the advancement of the Hindu religion or faith through religious education and the maintenance of the doctrines and tenets of such religion or faith and of the observances which serve to promote and manifest it including the provision and maintenance of a Temple for the purposes of public religious worship and other charitable purposes." Mr Joshi suggests that this overriding concern with religion is not an accurate statement of priorities of the Association, which is better characterized as a "concern for the welfare of Hindus in Bristol and as reflected in the Association's motto 'Gather Ye the Wisdom of the East and the West', a concern with bridging the gulf and endeavouring to establish good human relationships." The almost purely religious orientation reflected by the constitution, it is suggested, is only a reflection of the need to satisfy the rules for registration of the Association as a charity.

Much of the energy of the Association in the period 1976 to 1981 was taken up with developing a viable religious, cultural and social organization without a permanent base, having been refused the use of deconsecrated churches. In a letter from Mr Sanyasi, the then President of the Indian Association, acting in his capacity of joint secretary of the Sanatan Deevya Mandal to the secretary of the Bristol Community Relations Council, on the 22 November 1976, it was suggested that the treatment of the associations' request for accommodation amounted to discrimination, which the association were asking the Council to investigate. Something of the overall style of the association in this early phase is reflected in the way the case is made to the BCRC by the association. This letter suggests "... Strictly speaking, Hinduism is not a religion but a way of living. This gives identity to older and younger generations. This also generates attitudes of peace and harmony in our everyday activity, very essential to community

relations. In other words an attitude in life reflects our culture. Christians and Christian church in this country, with the grace of God, should make it possible for Hindus in Bristol to have their own place for worshipping Universal God. We stand at cross roads. Either we are swallowed and dissolved by the pressures and powers of uneven progress ... or using the power within us for Self Enlightenment, lead to cooperation with all which gives a path to tranquility, peace and harmony." Importantly, the letter goes on, "In this case discrimination cannot be proved. Even if its possible to prove, we have no intention of coming to conflict but fold palms of our hands and ask forgiveness. But it does affect our innermost thoughts ..."

The Association increasingly involved Hindu youth in its 'community relations' activities - speaking on culture in schools; assessing need and developing a response to literacy and language programmes, and in general terms displayed an increasingly outward looking orientation, a point emphasised by their 'document for submission to grant-giving bodies', produced in May, 1978.

#### Central Asian Council of Bristol

This Council was formally constituted in June 1980, after approximately six years of 'negotiation and planning with the Asian community'. The Council was a member organization of the Bristol Council for Racial Equality, and in the BCRE Annual Report, 1980, the aim of the Council is given as, "to act as a cohesive voice of Asian opinion in Bristol while attending to the needs of the community in areas of racial discrimination, immigration, employment, education, social services and general welfare. It will attempt to promote the understanding of Asian art and culture among the people of different races, to enhance the wellbeing of the community and contribute to the multi racial society in Bristol and its adjoining areas." As well as this 'Asian specific' function, the council, which is described as consisting

of "the representatives of the Asian community at large and various Asian national, youth, women and religious organizations, would work in cooperation with other ethnic organizations to eliminate racial discrimination and disadvantage in the society."

The founder of the Council, and its inaugural President was Bhupi Bowri, a senior administrator with the Open University, with experience in local government as an education supply officer in Kenya, from where he migrated in the mid 1960's. In contrast to the Sanatan Deevya Mandal, which was dominated by Gujarati speaking Hindus, the impetus for the Council, according to Mr Bowri came from a group of Punjabi speaking Hindus "who were not satisfied with the religious orientation of the Mandal or the Indian Association, and who had little time for either the Brahmin leader/follower thing at the Mandal or the narrowness of thinking of the Indian Association."

Mr Bowri believes that there is some resentment by the membership of the apparent East African takeover of the Indian Association, after 1972, but that this is not a problem in the Asian Council, which at formation had the chairman of the Bangladesh Association as its chairman. While the official aims of the Council suggest that it will unite with other ethnic associations to combat discrimination, members of the Council clearly see it differently. It is seen by one member as "an attempt in the local race field to maintain a balance with the West Indians who have dominated the functioning of the Council for Racial Equality for too long." Mr Bowri emphasises a slightly different perspective, when he suggests that the Council in large part can take over much of the CRE's business and do it more effectively: "If the West Indians had a Council like this, we could do away with the BCCE, but they won't form one because they're too preoccupied in all following their own interests. They're fragmented and individualistic."

The Council thus articulates two different positions - privately and publicly - as a counterweight to West Indian dominance in the local race relations area, and as the core of a 'black unity' process to attack areas

of concern common to all the ethnic groups.

This chapter describes the formation and briefly the structure, of a number of West Indian and Asian associations. There are at least as many associations not described in this brief review, partly through problems of access, and partly because it could be argued that the associations presented here are representative of associational style and structure. For example, the Bangladesh Association does not differ in any significant way from the Indian Association, except in terms of longevity; and the Barbados and Caribbean Friends Association, does not differ significantly from the West Indian Parents and Friends Association. While it would be interesting to examine the functioning of the Asian Womens' Association, for example, this would add only detail to the analysis of the broad social processes under investigation in this study, which as stated previously, is not an empirical study of associations, but an attempt to judge the usefulness of certain concepts and frameworks for assessing social and political processes in ethnic communities.

The following chapter examines in more detail the functioning of the associations introduced here, in the light of the propositions and hypotheses generated by the literature and summarized at the end of the previous chapter.

## CHAPTER FOUR

### ASSOCIATIONAL BEHAVIOUR

While the previous chapter offered a brief description of a number of West Indian and Asian associations, this chapter will spell out in more detail, the activities of these associations. Unfortunately, space does not permit anything approaching a complete analysis of the behaviour of all of the organizations, and for this reason, a number of different approaches have been taken, to monitor these associations' behaviour, either as single organizational units, or acting together, in order to explore the issues and propositions highlighted in chapter two, and in an attempt to offer at this stage an analysis, and not simply a description of associational behaviour. (10)

As there was a strong suggestion in the literature that 'sub contracted welfare' work, in Rex's terms, formed an important part of the functioning of ethnic associations, and as one of the early hypotheses derived from the literature suggested that the provision of a 'welfare' service may be one of the main ways that the 'service'/'politics' tension may be resolved, this issue will be discussed as a specific aspect of associational behaviour.

### Associations and Welfare

Although all of the associations in the study expressed a concern for the welfare of their members, the conceptions of welfare used varied from a wish to provide a direct counselling on welfare rights problems and a psychosocial casework service, as identified by the Caribbean Institute who offered both, and Albert Villa who offered the former, to a more general concern for the 'spiritual wellbeing' of the membership, as in the case of the Sanatan Deevya Mandal. All of the associations agreed that they had undertaken some intervention either directly with, or indirectly on behalf of members, with formal social work agencies, the Department of Health and

Social Security and the Housing Department. Of all of those associations however, the Indian Association and Sanatan Doovya Mandal declared the least interest in direct intervention. While this is consistent with Loos and McGraths' (1974) observation that Asian associations are reluctant to deal with the welfare problems of first generation immigrants, the reluctance found in this survey was more general, in the sense that it applied to other than first generation migrants, but also more specific, in the sense that these associations declared that they were not competent to deal with 'emotional or psychiatric' problems, whereas they felt able to respond to issues of material welfare.

As mentioned in the previous chapter the Caribbean Institute, while offering a direct 'casework' service to West Indian and Asian 'clients', kept no records of the type of work this involved them in, but staff suggested that in the early period of its operation, this service dealt mainly with welfare rights issues, that is, issues concerning Supplementary Benefits, National Insurance, Rent and Rate rebates, Family Income Supplement, other income issues; and housing issues. When the service was reopened after a break, the staff suggested that similar areas of work were covered.

The St Pauls Advice Centre Association, the other association offering a direct 'welfare' service, as far as their system of record keeping would allow for a breakdown of the type of work they were doing, suggested that of the 500-600 contacts per month that they averaged over the period 1976-1981, about 50 per cent were concerned with 'citizens rights'. Half of these covered 'income issues' - benefits, rebates etc. and a quarter covered housing issues. (The other 50 per cent of contacts were not classified, and involved in some cases information giving or immediate referral to other organizations)

The Caribbean Institute were not concerned during the course of this study, to suggest what their involvement in welfare rights might mean, other than to suggest that it was a necessary service. The St Pauls Advice Centre

strongly felt that they were providing a necessary service which clearly demonstrated two issues - firstly, that blacks were systematically subjected to harassment and discrimination in the areas of housing and welfare benefits, and that the formal social work agencies were not willing to respond to these issues because they were part of the machinery of discrimination; and secondly, even if they did attempt to develop a 'relevant' social work service for black clients, this was essentially destructive as it robbed black clients of an opportunity for political learning about the nature of their oppression.

The Advice Centre Associations' activities in the provision of welfare, and its perception of itself as being more 'legitimate' than the Local Authority service at one level, was derived from the need to ensure that those receiving the service were enabled to see how their situation had arisen - that it had a structural base arising out of the political context of black - white relations, and not out of some sort of personal inadequacy. As Francis Salandy the Associations director put it, "If we have a single mother here who needs to put a child into care because her housing is bad, we make sure that she knows that bad housing and lack of child care programmes are not things that she is responsible for. If she goes to Social Services, then they will want to know why she is a single mother, as if that explains why she is in poor housing. People need to see that they are not the problem, and that's what we can do."

At another level, the Advice Centre recognised that the characterization represented by the above quote was a somewhat gross formulation, which while making a political point about the irrelevance of certain sorts of perception of what constituted 'problems', did not reflect a sophisticated enough understanding of the limitations of the Local Authority Service. As well as conceiving of their service as more legitimate because of its better perception of the nature of 'black welfare issues', they also suggested that they could adopt an 'advocate' style of casework which white social workers



in the Local Authority, even if working from a similar perspective to themselves, could not adopt, by virtue of its being a non-management sanctioned form of practice in this statutory agency. They felt that this meant that people requiring this sort of assistance would therefore not refer themselves to the Social Services Department. As half of their Association's 'caseload' was made up of this sort of referral, the Social Services Department therefore was not seen to be a relevant agency, if it was failing to offer an appropriate response to these clients.

There was some disagreement at the Advice Centre on the extent to which collaborative practice could occur with professional welfare workers sharing a common political perspective, as a matter of political strategy. They were forced however, as a practical necessity to collaborate to some extent, as under the terms of their Urban Aid grant, 25% of their funding came from Avon County Council Social Services Department which was represented on their management committee. Thus, while the logic of the political analysis of the Association suggested that a black welfare agency was not only more relevant and competent, but that it was politically more desirable to provide an 'intra-community' welfare facility, the realities of financial survival and the constraints on policy making imposed by the necessity for external funding dictated that this ideological stance could not be totally realized programatically.

While this accounts for one source of external constraint on the operationalizing of the Association's ideological position, the literature suggests an additional source of constraint arising from the users themselves, and their need to have the centre meet their welfare needs by the provision of a 'service', rather than, or in addition to providing the opportunity to develop a political consciousness of their situation. One way of characterizing the Association's response is to suggest that if pursuit of the 'service' function is seen as the primary aim of the Association, then they cope with the 'politics'/'service' conflict, or the tensions between

their service aims and political tendency by providing a 'casework' service while at the same time, using a radical community work rhetoric which suggests that their day to day practice is more radical than it in fact is.

This sort of explanation misses much of the complexity of their actual behaviour however, and is inadequate as an explanation of the tension management processes used within the Association. The casework service they offer, is informed by their political analysis which is reflected, not in the choice of 'client' they work with, as they deal with all requests received, but in the style of casework that they have adopted. As mentioned earlier, they have evolved an advocate style of casework which has the potential to maximize areas of conflict with State authorities and services, and which clearly shifts the emphasis from the 'client' to the State, for understanding the basis of 'problems' and the provision of solutions. Although there is some debate as to what would actually constitute a 'radical casework practice' (Brake and Bailey 1980; Corrigan and Leonard 1978; Bailey and Brake 1975; Bolger et al 1981), it seems that the essence of it, is that it succeeds in allowing the operationalizing in terms of response, a radical political analysis on how welfare problems are created. The St Pauls Advice Centre Association does this, while at the same time aiming at programmatic consistency with their political perspective in areas other than individual casework.

The changes in the management structure reflect an attempt to make the Association accountable to the community, whose needs it sees itself as both meeting in part, and representing in arenas outside the community. In this sense, management structure and decision making style became representative of a need to find a structure that better suited the purposes of the Association than that structure inherited from an earlier phase of organizational development; a phase associated with a different set of priorities and a lack of user autonomy.

Very importantly, the political perspective provides the framework for

the interaction of this Association with the formal political processes outside the ethnic community of which it is a part. While this was evident in the period 1976-1981 primarily in the involvement of the Contros' staff in the Bristol Council for Racial Equality, and its working groups, and the Housing Action Group, it was most clearly demonstrated after the April 1980 disturbances which led to the Association forming the Defence Committee to coordinate Legal Aid procedures and fund raising for those charged with riot, and lesser offences associated with the events, such as criminal damage and looting. In addition to the formation of this defence committee, the post April 1980 phase of the Association's behaviour showed a marked acceleration of the process begun after the 1976 constitutional overhaul, when the Association joined with the Inkworks to devise a jointly operated scheme for converting a redundant school (St Barnabas) into a West Indian community centre, with priority of use going to West Indian youth.

Although this will be discussed in detail later, as a specific development, it is worth noting here that in this Association, it appears that 'welfare' as a distinct function was not an outcome of managing the tension between a service and a political orientation, but was a 'service' response to a particular political analysis and was consistent with and complementary to, the expression of that political analysis in the way the Association interacted both with its own community and outside that community.

As previously mentioned, the Advice Centre Association members varied in their attitude to the established welfare service, in terms of the extent to which they believed that they were offering a more relevant service by meeting needs which went unrecognised by the Local Authority or whether rather, they were meeting needs which were recognised, but that they responded to them more appropriately, because theirs was a more political response.

In an attempt to determine whether the statutory social work service was dealing with a different set of welfare problems than the St Pauls Advice Centre, all referrals by black clients to the central city district of Avon

Social Services were monitored over a ten week period in early 1977, at a time when the Advice Centro felt it was handling a 'typical' array of problems and dealing with them in a manner that they felt was appropriate. This would determine whether the Advice Centre was responding to different needs, whether they offered a different style of intervention, or both. The boundary of the central district did not follow ward boundaries and while it is difficult to be totally accurate about the black population covered by the district, Social Services management believe that it encompasses about 50 per cent of the cities Black population, and blacks form approximately 50 per cent of the total caseload of the district team, according to the Director of Social Services in his evidence to the Home Affairs Committee, Race Relations and Immigration Sub Committee (Minutes of Evidence, May 1980) - although at that time it was Avon County policy not to keep records on the ethnic origin of users of their services. It should be noted however that the 65 clients who presented at Social Services during the ten week period did not represent 50 per cent of all referrals, which totalled approximately 1,000 for that period. Black clients are disproportionately represented as 'long term cases', for example on statutory supervision orders and it is this that accounts for their constituting half of the district caseload. (Avon Social Services Research Division, District Monthly Returns, 1977).

Of the 65 referrals, 30 were non self referrals and 35 were self referrals. As none of the non self referrals was from any of the ethnic associations covered in the study, the self referrals only were followed up, to see in cases where clients had a choice of how to frame their problems for themselves, rather than having it done for them by a referring agency, how they did so, and whether those differed from the problems taken to the ethnic associations, particularly the Advice Centro. Ten of the referrals concerned housing matters which entailed liaison with the Housing Department in particular with regard to social workers preparing

'priority reports' for those awaiting council housing while eight of them involved requests for pre-school day care provision, a Social Services Department provided service. The other seventeen referrals covered a variety of requests for interpersonal counselling in cases of marital breakdown or parent-child relationships; requests for temporary care of children; and simple requests for information on where to obtain specific medical or non statutory social services.

Comparing the Advice Centre's referrals during this period with those to Social Services, revealed that the differences between them were explicable and appropriate in the sense that referrals to the Social Services Department were realistically directed requests for services only provided by the statutory agency. When however, a sub group of referrals was taken out for closer inspection, a somewhat different picture emerges. In St Pauls, less than three city blocks from the Advice Centre, the Social Services Department located a 'community based caseworker' in a terraced house. The referrals to this worker were quite different from those to the district office which was located in the City Centre. Of the thirteen referrals to this community-based worker, nine were for problems associated with housing and income or combinations of these, while the rest concerned legal and migration problems. These all had the same 'welfare rights' orientation of the Advice Centre's referrals, and demanded an advocate style of response in contrast to the central office referrals which while at times covering the same areas, e.g. housing, did not demand this advocate and more partisan style of response from the social worker. The community based worker was dealing with issues of discrimination, and harassment in housing and perceived discrimination in allocation of welfare benefits, in the same way as the Advice Centre was. When the clients who referred to this sub office, all West Indian, were interviewed about the route taken to the agency in terms of other referring agencies and sources of assistance, and the service they anticipated, they all indicated that it

was anticipation of the office providing an advocate style of indirect intervention that led them to refer problems of discrimination there. Very importantly, they believed that they would receive the same degree of partisan support as the Advice Centre would give, as the agency was perceived as a 'community resource', which operated from the same underlying political and value assumptions as the Advice Centre, and of those thirteen, ten had used the Advice Centre on other occasions for similar problems and saw it as interchangeable with the community caseworker.

The treatment of welfare problems as "political issues" did not remain the property of the Advice Centre alone, and from the evidence of use of these services, it seems that the Advice Centre was not necessarily tapping a different need, or set of needs, but rather that they were offering as they had expected, a style of intervention that was seen by its 'clients' as more relevant, as was also, the Social Services Department sub office. The fact that five of the clients had referred to both the sub office and the central office at the same time, but with different problems, emphasises the point that perception of what the agency has to offer in terms of response style seems to be one of the most important factors in determining how accessible, as well as how relevant any agency - ethnic association or statutory service is seen to be (Jackson, 1979).

Of the associations covered in this study, those that identified themselves as providing a service involving direct intervention as well as indirect intervention, the National Community Growth and Support Association, Caribbean Community Enterprise, West Indian Parents and Friends Association, all reflected this advocate/partisan approach, and it is this, rather than the fact that they meet different needs from other agencies, that legitimizes their welfare function. In these associations as well, there was no evidence that the welfare function represented a deviation from another more central tendency, but was in fact a medium whereby the central tendency was expressed.

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The treatment of welfare problems as "political issues" did not remain the property of the Advice Centre alone, and from the evidence of use of these services, it seems that the Advice Centre was not necessarily tapping a different need, or set of needs, but rather that they were offering as they had expected, a style of intervention that was seen by its 'clients' as more relevant, as was also, the Social Services Department sub office. The fact that five of the clients had referred to both the sub office and the central office at the same time, but with different problems, emphasises the point that perception of what the agency has to offer in terms of response style seems to be one of the most important factors in determining how accessible, as well as how relevant any agency - ethnic association or statutory service is seen to be (Jackson, 1979).

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In the case of the NCGSA for example, the representations made to the police regarding the charging of a West Indian student on 'sus' reflected a wish to take action on behalf of an individual who was part of the 'target group' of this association, while at the same time providing an opportunity to use the particular case to argue wider matters relating to policing of black communities.

The WIPFA, having articulated a primary concern with educational issues affecting West Indian children, which they felt were being catered for, to a large extent by the Multi Cultural Education Centre which was established in July 1978, turned their attention after 1978 to two other areas of concern which prompted a 'welfare' orientation and both indirect and direct intervention: single mothers and housing. The concern with housing had arisen, as a result of the inadequate standard of improvements undertaken in the St Pauls Housing Action Area. Starting from a concern that renovation cost £12,500 on average per unit, while the cost of a new housing project in St Pauls at the same time had been £10,000 per unit, the Association compiled a list of 30 houses that after renovation, had fallen into disrepair.

In conjunction with the Barbados and Caribbean Friends Association, the WIPFA used this housing issue both to argue individual cases of hardship and to make more general points about the standard of housing and environmental decay in the St Pauls area.

Linked to this, was the work undertaken by the Association with single mothers. Many of the women members of the Association were single parents, and experienced difficulty primarily in the areas of pre-school day care, and in obtaining housing. Again, representation was made to the Social Services Department and the Housing Department on individual cases and on the general issues affecting single parents in regard to housing policy. Interestingly in the 1979-80 period, the NCGSA was increasingly expressing an interest in the areas of single parents and housing, but from a different

perspective to that of the WIPFA. Their concern was with the system of allocating points to establish priority categories of those to be housed, operated by the City Council Housing Department. Under this scheme, single mothers were a priority category and the Association felt that this actually encouraged girls to have babies in order to increase their priority rating. Thus, the issue of single parents was used not to argue for more appropriate housing, as it was by the WIPFA, but was used to argue for the abolition of the points system as a means of establishing priority categories.

Caribbean Community Enterprise were, of this group, the Association that provided a welfare service that was least used to express their overall orientation, other than in the general sense of a black association providing a service for a predominantly black community. Although the counselling service they offered specialized in an advocate style of representation in welfare rights matters, including assisting clients at Social Security and Industrial Tribunals, they did not use this casework, in the same way as NCGSA and WIPFA in order to make representations to statutory authorities about discriminatory policies and practices by those authorities.

The Caribbean Community Enterprise (CCE) counselling service, although not on the same scale as the St Pauls Advice Centre service, shared many of its characteristics, in terms of this feature mentioned above. The contrast between the CCE and the St Pauls Advice Centre Association on the one hand, and the WIPFA and NCGSA on the other hand, can be seen both in relation to the 'symbolic' use made of their 'casework' or welfare function, and also in relation to the scale of the welfare operation, and the proportion that the welfare function consumed, of the associations' overall functioning. For the former two associations, the welfare function was central to the day to day functioning of the associations, and was incorporated within an overall framework of associational behaviour which articulated broader concerns, in which the welfare function played a part, but also to a large extent, remained an end in itself, of meeting particular needs in a relevant

way. For the latter associations, the welfare function was a small part of their functioning, but a very important part, as with it, they articulated broader concerns. Thus, the meaning of the welfare function varied in the associations, according to the scale on which it was carried out, and consequently its relationship to the perceived legitimacy of the associations in their communities of origin, varied as well.

It could be argued that less involvement in welfare provision of a direct intervention kind, led to a greater symbolic use of the welfare work that was done, and provided a base line of legitimacy and relevance, with which to pursue broader aims based on the analysis that the group used, in which to locate their welfare practice. This applied particularly to the NCGSA and WIPFA. For the CCE, its symbolic function lay in other areas, to be detailed later in this chapter, particularly its concern with education, while the Advice Centre made symbolic use of its welfare function, not by using the cases in a symbolic or representative way, but by the sheer volume of casework that they undertook, in which they felt they were offering a more appropriate response than the statutory authorities.

This discussion of the welfare functions of the ethnic associations may appear to conceive of 'welfare' too narrowly in simply involving work with individuals or families, whether this is done primarily by direct intervention with 'clients' or a combination of intervention with clients and with other agencies. It reflects however, the definition of welfare that the associations themselves used in interviews to express a particular function, which they conceived as a function separate from others. The extent to which functional distinctiveness actually exists, is a question that will need further exploration in this analysis, and it will be commented on in the next chapter.

To the extent that these associations - CCE, St.P. ACA, WIPFA, NCGSA - are all concerned with broad community wide issues, e.g. housing, legal issues, employment, education, they appear to satisfy one of the main

criteria for being considered to be a communal association - that it be concerned with issues which are relevant to more than one island or parochial interest, that is, issues that have a 'West Indian' or communal dimension. As all of these associations characterized themselves as communal in this sense, during the course of the study, it is necessary to note as an important aspect of understanding their associational behaviour, firstly how this behaviour was influenced by their communal dimension and secondly, whether this 'communalism' may be characterized as representative of ethnic group interest, rather than a less consolidated ethnic category or sub group interest.

#### Communal Associations and Ethnic Group Interest

As mentioned in the previous chapter, although the CGSA was founded from a concern with the effects on the West Indian community of pyramid selling, it quickly articulated other areas of concern, particularly a concern with education issues affecting young blacks, and went on from this, to express an interest in the areas of housing, police, ethnic elderly, ethnic mentally ill, and environmental issues. The direction that the interest in education took is an important one, and will be covered in some detail in the next section of this chapter, but at this point, the role of the NCGSA in the formation and functioning of the St Pauls Community Workers Group will be assessed to determine to what extent it constitutes communal associational behaviour.

As was the case with the other associations discussed in relation to the performing of a welfare function, the issue of style is important in understanding the behaviour of the NCGSA in forming the St Pauls Community Workers Group, and in establishing how it fits within the total functioning of that Association. The formation of a black students and parents action group in 1978 was in response to problems experienced in one comprehensive school. This action group could not be contained within the existing

programme and organizational structure and split off from the other functions, into a series of separate meetings. The action style adopted over this issue was one of confrontation with the statutory bodies the Association was negotiating with, and when this particular issue was resolved, the style remained, to be channelled into the other areas of operation of the association while much of the education work was taken over by the Rowntree funded white worker, with a focus on education of the white community, in general, and racism awareness training in particular.

Coupling the perceived legitimacy of the Association as being expressive of West Indian interest, derived from its representation on the management committees or executives of many of the other ethnic associations, to this confrontationist style, the Association was able to place itself in a position to be consulted by the Local Authority, and to have a degree of access to Local Authority officers, denied to other associations. In February 1980, the formation of a 'community consultation group' enabled the Association to gather information and coordinate tactics on contact with the Local Authority with other associations, but importantly, it also acted as a forum for linking the concerns of the statutory welfare agencies and those of the other ethnic associations. This group changed its name to the 'St Pauls and District Community Workers Group' and its purpose was described in a letter from the convenor to the Director of Education (20.2.81) as "to establish a sense of unity amongst those active in the area, so that together we ultimately provide a truly comprehensive community service within our community."

The monthly meetings of the group revealed however, that there was little sense of unity between the participating organizations, and that there were a number of distinct processes in operation which reflected this lack of a consensus on issues or purpose. The statutory agencies - Probation and After Care; Social Services; the Housing Department; and Environmental Health, participated in the meetings as a way of monitoring community processes, and gathering 'intelligence' with which to both assess their current programmes,

and to incorporate into future policy initiatives. The ethnic associations participating, similarly used the statutory agencies to gain information on likely developments in the area and used this information in order to plan programmes and anticipate likely sources of funding.

The other and most important process operating in these sessions, was the development of an 'ecological' approach to the conceptualization of ethnic interest. This was primarily an approach pursued by NCGSA, and was consistent with the political style that it had developed mainly over the two years preceding the formation of this group. This Association identified, in addition to its fairly narrowly conceived interest in housing allocation policy a number of areas of concern which identified 'environmental' concerns as matters of ethnic interest.

The two most important of these were prostitution and all night clubs or shebeens, frequented by Jamaican men mainly, and run by white women. The Association believed that the general public's association of St Pauls with prostitution had a detrimental effect on the self esteem of black residents, and initiated a series of meetings with the police, Housing Department, Environmental Health Department, the Probation Service, and the prostitutes organization, PROS, to limit the effects of prostitution in the area. As well as the general issue of the effects on self esteem, the Association identified particularly the effects on black women of indiscriminate approaches by potential 'customers'. By suggesting in these meetings that the possible good effects of the Housing Improvement programme, innovative community policing methods and radical groupwork approaches to coping with convicted prostitutes, were in danger of being lost, the Association showed a sophisticated understanding of community level pressure group politics, and managed also to link questions of the quality of the physical environment to the less tangible areas of the 'moral culture' of the area, and to identify these as particularly relevant issues to the black community.

In the same way, the issue of illegal drinking clubs was pursued by the

NCGSA as one which reflected badly on the whole West Indian community, and with the weight of being a communal and representative association, in the eyes of the Local Authority, the Association was able to effectively lobby for more vigorous policing in this area. The issue of the effects of the concentration of prostitution in St Pauls was dealt with again, by more vigorous policing, but also by permanently closing off some streets in the heart of St Pauls in order to construct pedestrian access areas only.

Environmental issues which could have been approached simply as legal or housing or urban planning issues had thus been converted by the NCGSA via the community workers group, and its independent political activity, into ethnic issues, as the Association pursued its own style of ethnic interest politics. This was demonstrated further by the role that this Association played in making representations to the Local Authority on the use to be made of the redundant school, St Barnabas, and as this also involved the St Pauls Advice Centre Association and the St Pauls Area Community Enterprise (Inkworks) in pursuing a conscious policy of defining environmental and resource issues as ethnic issues, the St Barnabas issue needs to be considered as a specific episode in the functioning of these associations.

With a new primary school being built in the area, to be designated a Community School, with extra Hall facilities, meeting rooms and with its planned use being monitored carefully by a white education pressure group, the St Pauls Action Group, and planned to open at Easter 1981, attention became focussed on the school site to be made redundant by this move.

St Barnabas school was operated by Avon Education Department, and from 1955 had incorporated the redundant St Barnabas Parish Church and Vicarage, which it leased from the Diocese of Bristol. The Diocese, in the process of rationalizing the use of buildings drawn on by the St Pauls Area Parochial Team Ministry suggested to Avon County Council in 1979 that they initiate a joint working party to consider a combined initiative to turn the site into a community centre which would represent the needs of the black community in



St Pauls. County officers failed to respond to this initiative, on the assumption that when Diocese officials talked of 'the black community', they meant the black Christian community only, and that they were thinking primarily in terms of places of worship rather than secular community centre. This assumption on the part of County officers, and the consequences that followed from it marked the beginning of a process of community conflict which at the end of this study, was still having serious effects within the West Indian community, and which more than any other event clearly showed the basic differences in orientation between the ethnic associations in St Pauls.

The County initially saw the issue of the use of St Barnabas as coming within the sphere of interest of the Employment Working Group, one of the three joint Avon County Council, Bristol City Council and Bristol Council for Racial Equality working parties, set up after the April 1980 disturbances to attempt to coordinate development of the area. At a meeting of the Employment Working Group on 3 July 1980, discussing prospects for new job creation programmes in St Pauls, two programmes were discussed - one, under the Community Enterprise Programme, to generate small business opportunities and the other, to ask the Manpower Services Commission to replace former Special Temporary Employment Programme schemes in the area for "the provision of outreach workers to provide counselling, job and further education advice and support the growing number of unemployed under 30's in the area..." St Barnabas was seen to be an ideal location for this second project.

By September 1980, under pressure mainly from the BCRC representatives on the Employment Working Party, discussion of St Barnabas was shifted to the Community Facilities Working Group. At this meeting the BCRC representative suggested (Minutes, 23.9.80) that the "Inkworks and St Pauls Advice Centre had an interest in the development of the St Barnabas complex and their observations and suggestions on the usage of various parts of the buildings could be sought." This was agreed to, and although another officer "thought



that there may be other individuals or organizations in the area who might have a contribution to make in this connection," no other associations were to be approached regarding their views.

This was extremely important, as the Inkworks and Albert Villa were being used as representative of community opinion on the development of the site. When the Assistant Chief Environmental Health Officer, in a letter to the Management Services Division of the County (16.10.80) remarked that "I ... look forward to your comments and further discussion with the members of the community which this facility will serve", it was to discussion with these two associations that he referred. As the content of these meetings gradually became known to other associations, representation was made by the NCGSA, WIPFA, Barbados and Caribbean Friends Association and the Pentecostal Churches, to the Diocese asking the Church to exercise a veto on any development if these associations were not consulted. Again, Avon County officers declined to meet with Diocese staff, and in order that the Diocese might respond to the requests for representation, it commissioned a brief research study, the 'St Pauls Research Project', to be under the supervision of the local vicar.

There were therefore two sets of proposals available by the end of the year. The City and County, acting on the assumption that they were canvassing representative opinion, in consulting Albert Villa and the Inkworks, accepted at a Working Group meeting on 28.11.80, a 'Report on Community Facilities for St Pauls,' prepared by the Bristol City Planning Department, which suggested, of the site, that "... there are sufficient buildings and space to accommodate a wide variety of activities and enable the formation of a community/activity centre potentially capable of bringing the wide diversity of interests in the community together."

The Diocese research/consultation project, which had canvassed opinion from other associations, revealed wide differences of opinion between those associations and the Inkworks and Albert Villa. Considered together, the

two sets of proposals for the use of the site fell into three main categories of use - social and cultural; employment training/education; church controlled hiring to community associations.

The Albert Villa/Inkworks proposal to the community facilities working group was based on the assumption that their current Urban Aid funding would be transferred to any new project, with additional funding being made available for building conversion and staffing, by a direct Home Office grant. The aim of their proposal was to relocate the services currently offered by the Inkworks - nursery, creche, music, theatre and dance workshops and Albert Villas' Advice Centre, and add to these an expanded legal aid service; increased involvement in ethnic arts, and a Black Studies Library. The proposal also envisaged the employment of a detached youth worker who would also be responsible for maintaining a 24 hour crisis centre with emergency accommodation facilities for homeless young people. The potential target group were young West Indians in general, and Rastafarians in particular. For this reason, there were no suggestions in the proposal for obtaining funding from the Manpower Services Commission for work experience programmes. The centre would provide an 'alternative structure' for consolidation of a black identity, in which paid work was not considered to be a necessary element. Under this scheme, other associations, such as NCGSA and WIPFA would have an office located in the centre, and management would be by the same process as operated at Albert Villa and the Inkworks, that is, a management committee drawn from user groups.

The second category of proposal, concerning education and training, was put forward by WIPFA, NCGSA, and the Barbados and Caribbean Friends Association. Although there were some differences in detail between the views of these associations they were similar enough to be considered together. The proposals envisaged establishing a permanent training facility in industrial skills, along the same lines as the original Caribbean Community Enterprise workshop proposal, but differing from this in that the training

would be linked to local market needs, to be determined by prospective employers, rather than it being determined by the associations themselves. An important aspect of the educational function of the centre, for these associations, and consistent with their existing programmes would be what the WIPFA broadly termed 'political education'. By this was meant consciousness raising, and 'social/life skills training', and while it was acknowledged that this was an aim of the Albert Villa/Inkworks proposal, this group of associations dissociated themselves from this other proposal on the grounds that it was divisive of the black community; that it was 'non respectable' in catering predominantly for Rastafarians and that it would unnecessarily antagonise the white community, whereas training facilities for unemployed youth who wished to work, they felt were acceptable to the white community.

The third option, involving the church in maintaining the property and hiring rooms to community associations was supported in part by the associations offering the previous option, inasmuch as they all identified with broad 'Christian' ideals, and particularly by the Pentecostal churches who wished to consolidate their influence in the area by working from a common base. The supporters of this proposal, which included the Diocese officers, but not the local vicar, who supported the second proposal, were most antagonistic to the Albert Villas/Inkworks proposal, as they found the proposed Rastafarian involvement offensive.

Apart from the attitudes to Rastafarians which underpinned the differences between Albert Villa and the Inkworks and the other associations, there were differences of opinion as to the necessity for, or viability of, a 'Community Association'. Albert Villa and Inkworks felt that there was no need for a community association which would attempt to reconcile differences and develop a coordinated approach to use of the centre, whereas the other associations felt that it was a necessary development if the centre were to be viable. Primarily the difference arose because, whereas Albert Villa and Inkworks

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felt that they had prioritized in a manner most consistent with needs articulated by the April 2nd disturbances, and were prepared to adopt a more militant negotiating and operating style derived from the 'rightness' of their view, the other associations were looking for an organizational form that would assist them in prioritizing and attaining more consensus on programme development. The differences between the groups represent fundamental differences, in the perception of ethnic interest, and the use of this as a motivating force in determining organizational style and programme development, and the St Barnabas issue is best seen in the context of these differences.

Albert Villa and Inkworks formed a natural alliance, and were divided from the other groups for a number of reasons. As mentioned previously, they were convinced that they had the right set of priorities, in aiming their facility primarily at disaffected, unemployed youth. They were the best financed of the ethnic associations, and because of this were able to operate with a high degree of consistency and actual development between their programmes and their philosophy. As a further aspect of this, they were ideologically distinct from the other associations, in that a priority for them was autonomy. They wanted as much control over their own associations as possible, and had a better developed political analysis than the other associations to support this. Their desire for militancy arose out of the logic of their political analysis and its Rastafarian commitment, and was positive. The other associations wish to have control over their affairs, via a community association, represented a fear of not being strong enough to resist pressures to adapt their programme in accord with the wishes of funding bodies via local government officers, for example.

Albert Villa / Inkworks were different from the other associations on the basis also, that their membership and support base was comprised mainly of British born young men, with a strong commitment to working out a viable 'Black British' identity, which involved paradoxically to some extent,

sooking roots in an African tradition rather than in the West Indian past of their parents. The paradox in so doing is more apparent than real however when it is considered that for many of the members of those associations, they were attempting to develop, in Campbells' (1980) terms a 'culture of resistance', which as Miles (1978) suggests is not a 'pure' form of Rastafarianism, but a synthesized version relevant to the distinct needs of Black British youth, but one in which "Rastafari culture remains an indelible link between the resistance of the maroons, the Pan Africanist appeal of Marcus Garvey, the nationalist and historical analysis of Walter Rodney and the defiance of reggae" (Campbell, 1980 : 2). The pursuit of African culture in the vigorous form apparent at the Inkworks speaks directly of this need to identify not with a 'slave culture' as many of the first generation immigrants - these boys parents, were held to do, but with a positive African culture.

The other associations in opposition to Albert Villa / Inkworks over the St Barnabas issue drew their support from first generation migrants with strong Christian backgrounds and a strong work ethic, for whom the Rastafarian ethos was anathema. It should be pointed out however, that the split between Albert Villa / Inkworks and the other associations predated the activity over St Barnabas and did not arise directly out of it. What it did, was to throw into sharp relief, these existing conflicts.

While the conflict with Albert Villa had arisen over a period of time, as this organization reworked its associational structure and management style to accommodate a more separatist, and black community rather than 'multi racial' orientation, the conflict with the Inkworks seems to have dated mainly from the incident in which the Inkworks had made it evident that it was no longer a multi racial association, but a black cultural centre which was more interested in making explicit the differences between it and the white community. This incident, as noted in chapter three, was the charging of the Association by the Environmental Health Department with 'noise pollution' arising out of drumming during Rastafarian services.

The Environmental Health Department had been alerted to this as a problem, and a complaint had been laid via a petition from residents of the street in which the centre was located, and surrounding streets. Ironically, the petition was written out on the back of a publicity leaflet the previous director had published arguing for the value of the centre as a total community resource. Copies were also sent to the Bristol Evening Post and the local M.P., which served to escalate the issue beyond being a purely local dispute.

At the time that a warning was issued by the Environmental Health Department, the management committee of the Association held a 'tactical' meeting at which it was decided that there was no basis to the complaints, and that they were motivated by racism. A Rastafarian spokesman suggested that the Housing Department be approached to rehouse the complainants, but this was rejected by the committee. Faced with alternative suggestions to either attempt a reconciliation with the white neighbours, or to maximize the events' conflict potential, the latter approach was adopted, and it was resolved to fight the issue in court and discredit the witnesses by alleging that they were acting from racist motives only. The opportunity had been taken to emphasise the distinctiveness and separativeness of the Association and its membership, and to reject the 'multi racialism' which was part of the philosophy, if not the practice, of all of the West Indian associations other than Albert Villa. This move was seen therefore as not just a rejection of whites, and an affirmation of a separate identity from them, but a rejection of moderate Christian West Indians as well.

This was reflected in the restructuring of the management committees of Albert Villa and the Inkworks that occurred after this event in particular, but which had been in progress since early 1977. During this time, NCGSA moved their temporary office from the Inkworks to another temporary base provided by the Churches Housing Association, on whose management committee the NCGSA was represented, and other 'moderate' organizations stopped using



the Inkworks as a venue for meetings. It increasingly became identified with a 'leftist' or militant orientation generally, as it offered facilities to groups such as 'Asian women against racism', and the 'Campaign against racist laws'. The experience of management within Albert Villa and Inkworks set them apart from the other associations, as they had consciously changed their management structures to cope with changes in orientation and had thereby demonstrated a degree of control over their own functioning that the other associations had not had a chance to demonstrate.

The differences between the two groups of associations over the use of St Barnabas can be traced to a situation existing prior to St Barnabas becoming an issue, in which the associations had acted in terms of ethnic interest, but which had led them to adopt very different stances. Albert Villa /Inkworks had combined to articulate a distinctive ethnic identity, which required for its proper development that the organizations in terms of both structure and function emphasise their distinctiveness, and clearly identify themselves as 'black' organizations with an orientation to youth, rather than as multi racial associations with a broad 'communal' appeal. They may be characterized as operating from a stance informed, in McKay and Lewins (1978) terms, by ethnic consciousness rather than ethnic awareness. This is not to say that the other associations did not, over this issue affirm an ethnic interest, but that it was of a qualitatively different sort from that articulated by Albert Villa/Inkworks. The St Barnabas issue as pursued by Albert Villa/Inkworks has some features in common with NCGSA's activities in the St Pauls Community Workers Group, as it again involved translating an environmental issue, in this case a potential community resource, into a matter of ethnic interest, but as suggested, it took this a stage further in the development of a corporate interest based on defining a situation from an ethnic group point of view.

The final issue that ought to be noted in this analysis of the extent to which associations which characterized themselves as 'communal' succeed



in pursuing policies representative of 'ethnic interest' as opposed to a more limited sectional interest, is that of unemployment.

It has already been suggested that WIPFA's concerns with education were motivated partly by a concern with the high rates of black youth unemployment, and the relevance of education to this condition. In addition, the St Barnabas issue clearly illustrates that youth unemployment informs both the philosophies and practices of the Albert Villa/Inkworks and NCGSA, in very different ways, which leads to very different approaches to its incorporation as an ethnic issue. St Barnabas showed how it can be important as an issue of ethnic interest for both, but that it has a fundamentally different meaning for these groups, as reflected in the response made to it.

For Albert Villa/Inkworks, voluntary unemployment - a refusal to do 'shit work' or 'slave labour' is a logical outcome of their analysis of the place of blacks in British society, and cultural learning is offered as a more relevant pursuit, and one which enhances the formation of a positive black identity. For NCGSA, black youth unemployment needed to be countered by a multi faceted approach including community education, to change attitudes of discriminating employers, and training workshops to enable black youths to acquire marketable industrial and commercial skills.

Caribbean Community Enterprise is the other main communal association to have defined the issue of black youth unemployment as a matter of ethnic interest, but this was not a simple identification of interest, and the changes in its status as an ethnic interest issue reflects broader features of orientation of the Association.

As noted in the previous chapter, the Trinity Project, as the primary programmatic expression of the Caribbean Community Enterprise association, had shifted priorities by July 1977 from a primary concern with 'arts and culture' to unemployment, with a declared aim of providing workshop facilities for training in industrial and craft skills. This concern with unemployment was a concern with black and white unemployment however, and at that time was

consistent with the aim of the Project, as expressed by the Director, to be "15 per cent black and 15 per cent white in the use of the Project, to make the point that is a multi racial contro, and that blacks can do things for whites, and not always the other way around."

Having affirmed over the next couple of years that youth unemployment was the main problem that they should address themselves to, the Trinity Project developed a similar stance to NCGSA and WIPFA in suggesting that compensatory education rather than direct training in industrial skills may be the answer to the problem. With the other two associations, this approach can be seen to be a consistent theme and approach. For the Caribbean Community Enterprise however, it represented a shift in orientation, to their previous stance, and this needs to be explained. Much of this explanation is provided by an examination of factors external to the Trinity Project rather than by reference to such internal factors as change in philosophy. The Trinity Project saw its catchment area as wider than just St Pauls, and they specifically hoped to attract trainees to their workshop from other areas of West Indian and Asian settlement - Easton, Barton Hill, St George, Bedminster.

At the same time as the Project was establishing itself in the Trinity Church at the edge of this catchment area, another scheme, Bristol Youth Workshops Limited, was established in the same area, under the Job Creation Scheme, to provide exactly the sort of low level industrial training that the Trinity Project aimed for. With the introduction of the Youth Opportunities Programme the Workshop increased its intake to about 40 young people, an increasing number of whom were West Indian. The further education element of the programme was provided by the University Settlement, which was itself providing Y.O.P. places for trainees, many of whom were West Indian. In 1979, an Urban Aid grant was approved for BYW Ltd., and the Urban Aid Unit established at the University Settlement to consolidate further education, and provide careers counselling. One of the most notable characteristics of the programme was that although the ethnic background of

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At the same time as the Project was establishing itself in the Trinity Church at the edge of this catchment area, another scheme, Bristol Youth Workshops Limited, was established in the same area, under the Job Creation Scheme, to provide exactly the sort of low level industrial training that the Trinity Project aimed for. With the introduction of the Youth Opportunities Programme the Workshop increased its intake to about 40 young people, an increasing number of whom were West Indian. The further education element of the programme was provided by the University Settlement, which was itself providing Y.O.P. places for trainees, many of whom were West Indian. In 1979, an Urban Aid grant was approved for BYW Ltd., and the Urban Aid Unit established at the University Settlement to consolidate further education, and provide careers counselling. One of the most notable characteristics of the programme was that although the ethnic background of

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the trainees had remained for the first three years at about 50 per cent West Indian origin and 50 per cent white, by mid 1980, the ratio was 75 per cent West Indian and 25 per cent white, and the BYW could "claim to be one of the major single providers of Youth Opportunities Programme places for black youngsters in the inner city area of Bristol" (Home Affairs Committee minutes, 1980 : 141)

Again at this time the Trinity Project was deprived of translating the major interest that they had expressed in boat building and in providing nautical skills for trainees into a viable programme, by the creation of the NOVA/Avon Trust which was created as an offshoot of the Raising of School Leaving Age (ROSLA) project in Bristol, to provide a trainee programme in nautical crafts and skills by converting a sailing ship into a training facility. The effect of both of these projects was to provide alternatives to Trinity in the very areas that they had identified as 'theirs', and to draw off Manpower Services Commission funding. This left Trinity with only six Project Based Work Experience places, and these only to undertake renovation of the buildings.

At this point, in May 1980, the Trinity Project needed to generate funds, while at the same time maintaining consistency with their view that youth unemployment was the priority issue at the time. They did this by redefining unemployment as an ethnic issue primarily, and dropped the 'multi racial' approach to unemployment, or at least the attempt to use this orientation in the designing of programmes. The main programmatic outcome of this redefinition of unemployment as an ethnic issue was the move into the compensatory education area, and the creation of 'Project Hammerhead: in place of riots'. Under this scheme, the Project was to undertake in April 1981, a fact-finding mission to Guyana to negotiate with the Government, the feasibility of establishing a New Action Corps - a Black British trained task force to help the Guyanese government develop the interior of the country, by building roads, clearing jungle and establishing settlements.

After completing an agreed term of voluntary labour, task force members would be paid a lump sum and encouraged to settle in Guyana where they would be offered free land as an incentive to settle.

In an interview with Easton News, August 1981, Trinity Projects director, Roy de Freitas explained why Project Hammerhead had been subtitled 'in place of riots': "We are going through a black youth revolution in Britain, with white youth collaboration. This is going to get worse before it gets better. If things don't improve by next summer, it is going to be twice as bad. No amount of water cannon will change that ... This country has the highest level of black youth wastage outside of the U.S."

In arguing that the antidote to the low self esteem generated in black British youth by unemployment and discrimination, lay in an identification with Africa, Mr de Freitas suggests that "there is a whole new generation of blacks growing up in this country who do not feel that they belong here. They experience neither the satisfaction expected of a homeland nor the comforting thought of a more secure future. They do not feel sufficiently English and might welcome the opportunity to try their hand abroad before deciding whether or not they wish to remain British."

This emigrationist approach has links with the separatism of Albert Villa/Inkworks, but represents a different programmatic translation of unemployment as an ethnic issue. In common with them however, Trinity Projects' approach contains the elements of a radically different approach to ethnic identity, to that articulated by NCGSA and WIPFA and in this matter where 'communal' associations have such fundamentally different approaches to the definition of ethnic interests, it could be suggested that this has implications for the way that we conceive of 'communalism' as an organizing principle of ethnic associational behaviour, and forces us to ask questions about the manner in which ethnic interest is articulated by communal associations, and the ways in which enhancing or reworking ethnic identity is a factor in ethnic associational behaviour.

This chapter so far has examined briefly the behaviour of a number of ethnic associations in relation to the performance of particular functions, and the extent to which these may indicate the operation of a process of internal tension management; and the behaviour of associations defining themselves as 'communal', in the way they articulate ethnic community interests rather than sectional or parochial interest. Another important area of analysis is the question of the extent to which ethnic associations drawn from the West Indian community and those from the Asian community are capable of unified action on political matters - Lawrences' (1979) 'black unity' option for ethnic political behaviour - both in terms of perception of issues and in devising strategies.

The issue that was shared as an area of interest, both as an aspect of political analysis or philosophy and as an aspect of programme development was that of education, and the associations will be assessed in relation to their behaviour on this issue, with two main aims - firstly, to judge the extent to which the issue served as a basis for the development of a 'black unity' approach and secondly, to assess, as with other areas such as unemployment and welfare, the extent to which the orientation to education as an issue is symbolic of more general features such as the relationship between blacks and whites and what it tells us of internal minority organization processes.

#### Associations and Black Unity

In order to assess whether the ethnic associations covered in this study exhibited behaviour characteristic of a 'black unity' approach, over the issue of education, two areas need to be covered. Firstly, the behaviour of the associations acting individually will need to be noted, in order to determine how the issue fits in to the overall functioning of these associations and whether there is any evidence to suggest that the issue is one which encourages the expression of idiosyncratic interests or ethnic



interest, and whether there is evidence to suggest it has the potential for expressing a unified interest, representing both West Indian and Asian concerns. Secondly, the behaviour of a number of these associations, acting together on the issue will be examined by reference to the Bristol Council for Racial Equality, Education working group and the joint BCCE/Avon/Bristol City Council working party on education.

As previously noted, the NCGSA expressed an interest in education at an early stage of their organizational development, and expressed this by offering literacy classes and a summer school, in addition to forming a parents/students action group to tackle discrimination in a particular school. In 1979, the education function of the Association was largely being met by an externally funded white worker, whose task was defined by the Association as undertaking 'community education' of whites, in order to bring about attitude change, and eventually lead to less discriminatory activity against black young people in particular. The Association's education programme took two forms at this time. One task undertaken, was in the area of 'cultural information', and the Association, via the white community education worker sponsored day conferences with themes such as 'multi cultural Britain', at schools in predominantly white areas of Bristol. A second task, to which priority was given, was the development of a 'Racism awareness' training course, aimed mainly at white professionals - teachers, social workers, and others in frequent contact with blacks, such as the police. The Association sponsored a number of three day 'racism awareness workshops' as part of this programme, and drew up a draft proposal for submission to the Manpower Services Commission, for the funding of a full time racism awareness workshop programme which would, in addition to undertaking courses, provide a training facility for black workers.

The MSC draft submission clearly showed that the Association saw racism awareness workshops as a specialized technique of group work which would facilitate attitude change, benefiting all ethnic groups and a 'consultation'



mooting with representatives of other West Indian associations, Asian associations and the BCRC was held in order to obtain the backing for the MSC submission from all ethnic groups.

At this point, the Association was consciously articulating a concern in the broad field of education, which had the potential to link both Asian and West Indian associations and indeed sought to use this fact to enhance the legitimacy of the project. At the public meeting however, the proposal was opposed by all groups represented, and failed to be seen as an issue with 'black unity' potential. It was opposed by BCRC on the grounds that they were "the responsible body in this city for undertaking racial awareness education, and that this proposed workshop programme would undermine this effort." While the BCRC representatives opposed the proposal from a failure to accept that racism awareness workshops were not the same as the cultural education programme they were responsible for, the opposition from other groups came from a different source. For the Albert Villa and Inkworks representatives, their opposition stemmed from a characterization of the proposal as "white middle class liberalism" which, while appeasing the consciences of those undertaking the work, did little to alter discriminatory behaviour, even if it had a marginal effect on attitudes. They saw the allocation of MSC funds to this project as wasteful in the sense that resources should go straight to the black groups rather than to white programmes "acting on behalf of blacks". That it was a proposal originating from the NCGSA was not relevant, as the 'technique' and target group were both white.

Asian association representatives, speaking on behalf of the Central Asian Council, opposed the proposal on the grounds that "programmes like this do more harm than good, and stir people up and make people conscious of their race hatred in a way that they might not have been before." This was a common fear, that of a white backlash, and to some extent was present in the arguments of all those opposing the proposal.

As a result of this meeting, the sponsoring body for the community education worker withdrew funds, and declared that the proposal, having failed to be sanctioned by 'the community' could not be supported. This effectively terminated NCGSA's involvement in education as an issue, other than to lobby in 'safe' areas, where there was a high degree of consensus between associations, for a multi cultural education policy by the Education Department, and for the establishment of a secondary school in the area.

As the WIPFA's involvement with education had largely ceased with the establishment of the Education Departments' Multicultural Education Centre, and with Inkworks pursuing an independent compensatory and cultural education programme, the only West Indian association with a substantial interest in education was Caribbean Community Enterprise, who expressed distinct concerns in the field of adult education and the education of black children.

The main education programme for children offered by the Trinity Project was the compensatory 'homework' scheme, the rationale for which was given (Trinity Church Project, Annual Report 1978/9 : 12) as: "... a large percentage of children in the adjoining inner city areas have often been poorly rated in the sense of academic achievements, the main reason being the inability of parents to provide the added incentive of the back-up support absolutely essential in an alien country and educational structure, for improvement in their academic standards, least of all in the artistic and cultural education."

In the area of adult education, the Trinity Project offered English as a Second Language classes, and planned to offer further language classes in English as a Foreign Language, Arabic and French. It also offered monthly talks on the cultural backgrounds of Asian religious groups in the hope "that such talks would benefit the members of the host community to understand the problems of the minority groups in their social and cultural context and thereby help to create an atmosphere of racial harmony." In 1979, in addition to these classes, the Trinity Project initiated discussions

on the provision of Mother Tongue teaching in Punjabi, Urdu and Bengali with local schools, to run alongside the Projects' own Hindi classes.

All of these education projects had the potential to meet the needs not only of West Indian children but Asian children as well, and were direct programmatic expressions of matters of concern to the Asian Council, Sanatan Deevya Mandal, and BCCE. They were vigorously opposed however, by all of these groups, primarily on the basis that they undermined attempts by these associations and the BCCE to have programmes such as this offered as a matter of policy by the Avon Education Department, and not offered in a piecemeal way by individual schools. While the strength of feeling about this should not be underestimated, it does not in itself constitute a total explanation for the degree of animosity that existed around these issues. A further explanation lies in the very fact that the Trinity Project was attempting to link West Indian and Asian concerns. This was seen by Asian associations, and white community workers as not being a legitimate tactic, partly because it undermined what they considered to be a more valid political approach to the County, but also because they mistrusted a 'West Indian' association who expressed an interest in 'Asian' affairs. The claims of Caribbean Community Enterprise to be a multi racial project were thus not accepted by other associations, and 'multicultural education' issues were not regarded as a viable basis of a united approach by both West Indian and Asian associations.

Against this background of conflict, the Trinity Project identified a particular area of concern in adult education, to which it could lay sole claim, in the sense that the issue did not 'belong' to any other associations, and that was the area of access to further and higher education.

The Association had declared (Trinity Project, Annual Report, 1978/9 : 14) that it was "motivated in providing foundation courses for young people who feel that they are unable to develop the full potentials due to the lack of necessary qualifications for entry into Colleges of Higher Education.

The courses would not be limited to the people of ethnic minorities only, but the studies would have particular regard to working among the black ethnic minorities and employment within agencies serving these communities."

Although this statement contains an affirmation of the associations 'multi racialism', this was later dropped, after the first workshop that Trinity held in May, 1980, on 'Education in a multi racial society'. The subsequent workshop on 'Education opportunities - access to further and higher education', originally intended to be part of a series running into mid 1981, was concerned only with access problems for ethnic minority youth, and was seen as not just an opportunity to express needs, but to help shape the response. As a publicity letter to potential participants (24.6.80) put it, "more often than not when education policies and courses are decided for the purpose of helping ethnic minority youth, the decisions are taken in the total absence of consultation with ordinary people from the ethnic minorities... The main purpose of this initiative from the community is that this is a direct involvement with the ethnic minorities from the onset, so that people from the black community can have some way of influencing how courses are set up ... The important point here is community involvement at all levels and multiple participation in what is happening." (emphasis in original)

The range of issues of 'paramount concern' in tackling education needs, as described in the Projects 'Multi Cultural Education Paper No.1' concerned curriculum reform and access, and reiterated a concern for both 'Asian' interests (mother tongue teaching) and 'West Indian' interests (lack of representation as school Governors). Thus, access to education in the broad sense of covering language, selection, and the relevance of curriculum at primary and secondary level became the issue that Trinity concerned itself with, and in so doing suggested a broad 'ethnic minority' interest and not just West Indian concerns.

One of the main points to arise out of their approach is that it was

generally optimistic in its assumption that following consultation, the Local Education Authority would adapt its policy, or frame new policies to make its approach more sensitive to ethnic needs. The discussion of education by the Trinity Project was not framed by a consideration of discrimination, which might have been expected to feature in the analysis of an association articulating broad ethnic concerns. This was true also of WIPFA and NCGSA, who similarly did not emphasise discrimination but matters of detail, such as curriculum reform, which while having the potential to be seen as a matter of discrimination, was not so seen.

This brief review of some of the associations' attitudes and activities in the area of education suggests that it may be possible to distinguish between 'West Indian' concerns, such as curriculum reform, representation as governors, access, underachievement, and 'Asian' concerns such as Mother Tongue teaching and English as a Second Language classes, and broad ethnic minority concerns such as discrimination. While the Asian associations on an individual basis expressed concern for ESL and EFL classes, they did not attempt to run these themselves, but supported the white run Bristol English Language Tuition Scheme, which included ESL and EFL programmes, until this programme was taken over in 1979 by the County Education Department.

Having looked briefly at associations acting individually, it is worth noting now, whether in formally acting together, they subordinated individual associational or particular ethnic group concerns and identified areas on which they could establish a unified approach. This will be done by reference to the role played by associations represented on the Bristol Council for Racial Equality Executive Committee, acting as the BCRE's representatives on the Education sub-committee of the joint Avon County/Bristol City Council/BCRE working group "to discuss various matters arising from the disturbances in the St Pauls area on the 2nd April, 1980" which was first convened on 1st May 1980.

The overall orientation towards education issues by the BCRE, as represented by the Community Relations Officer (Education) is one which conceives of local education issues as merely particularized examples of national problems, and the report of this officer in the BCRE's 1980 Annual Report clearly describes the range of their concerns, when it suggests, "The local education establishments do not cater adequately for the needs of 'black' students (those of Asian and African/West Indian descent) nor do they do an adequate job in educating indigenous students for a multi cultural society. Basically there is an alarming widespread ignorance and/or lack of concern about the feelings, values, attitudes, problems and experiences of black people in this country and the role that education could play in promoting a just, multi cultural society. As a result large numbers of black children have their learning and development hindered rather than helped in the school system." The report continues, "... it is easy to see how schools can serve to play an unfortunate role in perpetuating colour discrimination and the accompanying lack of respect for other cultures."

Apart from this fairly general formulation of its education concerns, as conceived of at officer level at least, the BCRE document 'Educational concerns with particular reference to the Bristol situation' (1980) details specific issues. The most important feature of this document, is that the issues if classified as 'West Indian' specific'; 'Asian specific'; 'Black general'; or 'Local Education Authority policy and practice' show a clear weighting in favour of LEA related issues such as lack of inservice training in multi cultural education, and 'Black general' issues such as a failure to view ethnic difference positively.

Racism and discrimination as issues, feature centrally in the assessment of problems, whereas they do not as previously mentioned, feature in the assessments of education problems made by CCE, WIPFA, NCGSA or in the limited published material of the Asian associations, including the Central

Asian Council, on education matters. This is worth noting, as in the framing of areas to be discussed at the Education Sub Committee those associations were acting not on their own behalf, but as representatives of the whole Council for Racial Equality, and incidentally fulfilling the function of a support or advisory group to the CRO (Education) who nevertheless exercised greater decision making power in formulating a group stance than did the associations. The Associations' major concern in the early stages of the work of the Committee was over representativeness, and it was suggested (BCRE Executive Committee Minutes, 3.9.80) that the chairman of WIPFA and President of the Central Asian Council, the two existing association representatives on the Committee, were not in themselves capable of putting forward a 'representative' view. Two of the strongest reactions came from the Caribbean Community Enterprise Director and the President of the Sanatan Deevya Mandal, himself a peripatetic 'multi cultural' teacher operating out of the Countys' Multicultural Education Centre. Although it was pointed out at this meeting that discussion of 'representativeness' was rendered meaningless by the fact that thirty one ethnic groups were represented on the Council, the Executive Committee agreed that in addition to the Senior Community Relations Officer, ERO (Education); chairman of WIPFA or CCE; president of the Central Asian Council, the Council representative should include three representatives of Asian associations and three representatives of West Indian associations.

Activity on the issue of education was complicated at this time, as there was pressure from some organizations to constitute a permanent BCRE education working group comprised of those representatives who had expressed a long term commitment to multi cultural education. At the same time therefore as the larger Education Sub Committee was meeting, this smaller 'working group' with representatives from the Central Asian Council, CCE, NCGSA, and an executive committee member who was on the Avon Education Committee, was meeting to decide its own priorities. This group, meeting

in December 1980 was unable to decide on either its function or composition and two suggestions emerged: firstly, that it be a sub committee of the BCRE Executive Committee responsible to it for the education concerns of the Council and consisting of representatives of the local authorities, teachers organizations and ethnic minority groups. Secondly, it was suggested that it should be a small working group to facilitate the work of the CRO (Education) acting in an advisory capacity and composed of people with experience in CRE affairs and procedures and having commitment to the elimination of discrimination in the education system. As a result of the disagreement this meeting resolved (BCRE Executive Committee Minutes 21.1.81) not to set up a formal group, but to monitor the effects of the Avon/Bristol/BCRE Education Sub Committee instead.

The disagreements on composition and function of this group are important, as they illustrate two factors relevant to understanding the behaviour of these ethnic associations attempting to work together. Firstly, it illustrates the difficulty of associations feeling in control of strategy development and programmes in a context where a formal semi government agency, the BCRE, exercises a great deal of power over their decision making. This in itself is illustrative of the broader point, to be developed later in this study, of the difficulty of determining what is proactive and what is reactive behaviour by ethnic associations, under conditions where the nature of the influence of external agencies is not always clear. Secondly, it illustrates differences of opinion not only about ethnic associations acting in collaboration with each other, but the extent to which they are confident, in collaboration with non ethnic associations, such as the National Union of Teachers. CCE for example developed a collaborative strategy in the area of education over the access workshop and their educational opportunities programme, and were confident of retaining their own distinctiveness and influence in that arrangement, whereas associations such as the Central Asian Council, WIPFA and NCGSA



had not experienced this form of ethnic - non ethnic association collaborative behaviour. In this sense, the issue may confirm to some extent the suggestion made in the discussion on St Barnabas, that those organizations who are subjected to a higher level of external influence, through tenuous funding arrangements for example, may be less inclined to adopt collaborative strategies, not from a lack of sympathy with the aims of other associations, but from a fear of submerging their identity and subjecting themselves to greater external influence than is otherwise necessary for their day to day survival.

While this earlier meeting had shown that some reluctance existed in some associations as to collaboration with each other and with white associations, a later meeting of this group in February 1981, convened to discuss strategy at the joint Education Sub Committee revealed that the priority areas as defined by this group contained three main issues - the general one of ensuring that Avon developed a policy statement on multi cultural education; the Asian specific area of mother-tongue teaching, and the West Indian specific area of the underachievement of West Indian children.

The joint Sub Committee meeting of 20.3.81 saw Avon accepting these issues as priority areas, with the addition of ethnic minority representation as School Governors, and recruitment of black staff, but the BCRE members expressed "disappointment at the lack of progress, the low priority apparently being given to significant change in attitudes towards multi ethnic education and black underachievement, and the extremely defensive attitude of Avon" (BCRE Executive Committee Minutes 29.4.81, 'Report of Education Working Group.')

At this stage, the BCRE had to acknowledge the lack of progress being made on the issue of education, and in response returned to the idea of a working group comprised of Asian and West Indian representatives, but including also representatives from other groups, specifically the National Union of Teachers. A planning meeting between these associations (3.6.81)

resulted in much the same list of priorities as previously agreed upon, with the addition of 'racism in schools' i.e. the infiltration of racist literature and activity in Avon schools; 'selective secondary education in the North Central Area' i.e. the application of a 'culturally biased' verbal reasoning test seen as discriminatory within an anachronistic policy of selective education; and the 'Multi Cultural Education Centre' which was criticized on the grounds that it had become a facility providing remedial teaching for black pupils rather than adopting a more positive function.

A decision as to strategy had thus been taken out of the hands of the associations themselves and had been made by the BCRE officer responsible for convening the education working group who had pre-empted a decision by the group as to its composition, by simply inviting representatives of other organizations when the next meeting was convened. The test of the extent to which the associations were able to operate in a collaborative way in this form, and not exhibit the conflict that was apparent between organizations when they acted singly in the area of education was in the way that priorities were determined in this group - whether there were 'general' issues as well as ethnic group specific issues. That the education working group represented an uneasy alliance is suggested by the next meeting at which the associations were present, the BCRE AGM 8.7.81, where it was clear that associations were reverting to their 'own' issues - West Indian associations calling for representation as School Governors; Asian associations concern with mother tongue teaching; and the working group now comprised of ethnic association representatives and the NUT, passing a resolution on a 'general' issue, the Rampton Report.

This brief outline of associational behaviour in an area where both Asian and West Indian associations had expressed a strong interest, suggests that on this issue at least, there is little evidence of the operation of a 'black unity' process, as distinct from an 'ethnic organization' process. Going further than this, it could be suggested that there is little

difference between the magnitude of the interethnic conflict displayed in this area, between West Indian and Asian associations, and the intra ethnic conflict, as between West Indian associations. The evidence suggests that there are three distinct areas of conflict that West Indian associations may be involved in - conflict with other West Indian associations, conflict with Asian associations, and conflict with 'the State' in the form of local government, as a particularized instance of conflict with whites.

A major characteristic of these three areas of conflict is that they are all conflicts involving power, in this case, the power to define an issue as problematic; and the power to determine an associational response to that problem and initiate behaviour at the level of the individual associations or collectivities of associations. Power however, is not the sole issue of conflict, and as it has been suggested here that associations acted in such a way as to maximize their distinctiveness by claiming particular issues as 'belonging' to them in particular, and perhaps to their ethnic group in general, then it could be suggested that it is competition that marks the relationship existing between these associations, either at the intra ethnic or inter ethnic levels. This seems especially relevant in the areas of developing a response as a matter of analysis and developing a response in programmatic terms.

None of the ethnic associations noted in the sections on welfare, the St Barnabas issue, or education, were significantly in conflict with other associations about the definition of problematic issues, but it has been suggested, that they differed sharply in some cases on the meaning that was attached to those 'problems', and hence differed sharply in the response developed to them. One of the clearest examples of this in this study, is in the conception of black youth unemployment and the different responses developed to it.

Perhaps it is useful to draw on some of the earlier discussion on associations and the allocation of, and bargaining for, scarce resources

to develop an analysis of this particular aspect of their behaviour. A distinction was made in the previous chapter between the different 'styles' adopted by the various associations - conflict oriented, consensus oriented, separatist etc., and it may be useful to think in terms of the political system encompassing these associations and the government agencies working either with them or in conflict with them, as being able to cope only with a particular range of associational behaviour, and that the intra and inter ethnic conflict over who 'owns' what issue, may be a function of the inability of the system to cope with more than that range of behaviour that is functional for it. For example, the system seems able to cope with the militant cultural nationalism of the Inkworks, and the conflict oriented distinctiveness of Albert Villa, but it may not be able to cope if there were more than these two associations articulating these conflict oriented approaches. Tolerance of, and indeed encouragement of these approaches by 'official agencies' may in fact be a recognition that a certain degree of conflict is functional to the system. It is functional as much because it encourages associations to treat the total sum of options available to them as finite, such that if one or two associations 'own' particular issues and particular response sets or associational styles, then those are no longer open to other associations who need to appropriate their own part of this particular system of issues and responses. In this sense, the presence of militant associations may in fact restrict the behaviour of other associations, aware that only a certain amount of conflict will be functional, such that they become more conservative in their analysis of issues and behaviour.

In this way, it may be more functional to the local political system to have a small number of very radical associations, with the bulk of associations being conservative, rather than a large group of potentially radical associations, or associations who would take a radical stance over some issues.

The implications of this will be examined more fully in the following chapter, which will take the themes and propositions suggested in chapter two, and these taken together with the previous two chapters coverage of associational structure and function, will draw some conclusions about the main areas of study - ethnic group formation, ethnic associations and ethnic politics at a local level.

## CHAPTER FIVE

### ASSOCIATIONAL BEHAVIOUR, ETHNOGENESIS AND ETHNIC POLITICS

This study set out to assess the value of the concept of ethnogenesis in describing a process of group formation, by reference to the boundary negotiation and change functions performed by ethnic associations in the course of interaction between minority ethnic categories and groups and the majority grouping.

It was suggested that in undertaking such a study, attention should be directed to the symbolic as well as the real functions of associations. This was to be done firstly, to assess the relationship between associations and the constituent communities from which they were drawn, and secondly, in order to determine whether there was a direct correspondence between associational structure and function, and the extent to which entity characteristics are present in, or emerge in ethnic categories, and the extent to which this may differ from already existent ethnic groupings.

It was further noted that although associations represent only one aspect of the social organization of ethnic communities, it may be possible by undertaking such a study, to determine the extent to which an understanding of associational behaviour may contribute to an understanding of broader social processes occurring in those communities.

From the review of the approaches to ethnic group formation and associational behaviour undertaken as part of the study, a number of propositions that required exploration were identified, as well as a number of limitations in the existing approaches.

Ethnogenesis, it has been suggested, may be limited in value as a way of describing group formation processes and identity bargaining, as there is a failure in the way the concept has been used to specify how much change needs to have taken place in order to say that a process of ethnogenesis has occurred. This process involves the transformation of an ethnic category

into an ethnic group, and as it's already been suggested that there are organizational styles and patterns of behaviour characteristic of ethnic categories and ethnic groups, one aspect of the study was to determine whether this process can therefore be measured by reference to ethnic associational behaviour.

It has been suggested both that 'service' and 'political' orientations of associations are derived from different ideological positions and represent programmatic expressions of these, or that alternatively, they are not mutually exclusive tendencies, but are conflicting tendencies which require the operation of tension management processes. Apart from this broad question on contributory factors in programme development, the particular issue of the nature of the tension management process has been examined, in order to test primarily, Rex's contention that a 'welfare' function is adopted to meet both service needs, and to articulate a political analysis which makes a statement on the relationship of the ethnic category or group to the majority group.

The other aspect of tension management that evidence was sought on was the way that associations handled the tension between their conservatism in terms of containment and 'defensive inclusiveness' and their innovative tendencies, in terms of acting as a socialising mechanism increasing urban social and political skills.

The point has been made that there are different ways in which ethnic categories and groups, and ethnic associations may be considered to be engaged in 'political' behaviour. Firstly, it was noted that to the extent that these associations were crucial to an identity bargaining process, they were a challenge to the majority groups power to define ethnic categories, by reworking unacceptable identities in order to create self generated and maintained definitions. Hence they were political in the sense that politics is concerned with the power to impose one's own construction on events. Secondly, it was also suggested that associations concern themselves with

resource distribution and equalization either by direct service provision or indirect service provision or by acting as political pressure groups, and that this constituted direct political behaviour.

In the course of obtaining evidence with which to conclude on these political processes, it was hoped to obtain material to enable some conclusions to be drawn on the viability of particular models of political processes in ethnic communities.

From the coverage of both the ethnogenesis and association material, it became evident that 'identity' was a crucial concept, because it was suggested that the shift from an ethnic awareness characteristic of ethnic category membership to the ethnic consciousness characteristic of the ethnic group member involved fundamental decisions to be made about identification with an ethnic group. It also involved a decision to use this identification as the basis for engaging in public behaviour, and the concept was crucial because identity bargaining lay at the heart of the interaction processes between the ethnic category portion in transition to an ethnic group, and the majority grouping.

The other main reason why identity was thought to be crucial in the study was that a consideration of identity clearly showed up the deficiencies in some of the association material which relies on sharp distinctions between 'expressive' and 'instrumental' characteristics, whether this is applied to whole organizations themselves, their goals, or their behaviour, or that of individual members.

As there are aspects of the study, such as a concern with identity, which cut across all three areas of the study - associations, ethnogenesis and ethnic politics, it makes for a somewhat artificial division to consider the conclusions that arise out of the study under these as headings. Similarly, as the purpose of the study is to determine how an analysis of processes in one area (associations) is a useful way of operationalizing the concepts from another area (ethnogenesis) and the lessons that this has



for understanding a third area (ethnic politics) some of the purpose of the study would be lost by organizing the material in this section in too tight a way. I will therefore work through the points arising from the study generally in the sequence in which they emerge from the literature, and where appropriate will link these second order questions into statements on the first order propositions presented in Chapter Two.

Much of the literature cited on participation in voluntary associations in urban contexts in particular observed that for low socio economic status participants in associations, the degree of participation was enhanced under conditions where associations engaged in short term activities that enabled participants to exhibit spontaneous, expressive behaviour, and because of this, issue oriented, locality based activities generated the highest levels of participation.

Superficially, the evidence from this study seems to support this observation, and this qualification itself indicates the serious difficulties that exist in interpreting associational behaviour. While it is true that most of the programmatic content of these ethnic associations behaviour concerned locality based activity, this in itself does not explain the level of participation, or adequately explain the dynamics of their behaviour. The associations, with the exception of National Community Growth and Support Association were all 'local' organizations relating to a constituency that was itself relatively highly contained, in the sense of residential dispersal and mobility.

As noted, a number of the associations, including NCGSA, which by its own admission was rather more a 'local' Association than it was even a local branch of a national organization, showed a high degree of identification with that particular area of the city that contained the highest number of ethnic minority residents. They also, on a number of occasions, deliberately

identified local environmental issues such as housing, prostitution, community leisure resource allocation, and policing as matters of ethnic interest. Thus, in saying that they engaged in locality based activities is also to say to a large extent, that they pursued matters of ethnic interest. High levels of participation therefore cannot simply be said to be a function of a locality based approach, but is also a function of the high order of expression of ethnic interest manifested by the associations engaged in 'local' action.

The question of legitimacy arises also, in considering this aspect of associational behaviour. Even those associations such as St Pauls Advice Centre Association and the Inkworks, who worked from a sophisticated political analysis which placed their activities within a separatist and militant cultural nationalism at its most extreme, and an aspect of this, within the context of Third World politics and culture, found it both necessary and desirable to undertake activities at the level of the neighbourhood or locality.

To express an associational philosophy in programmatic terms at a 'local' level therefore is not an indication that the philosophy and analysis is necessarily derived from that local context, but it does suggest that if associations wish to stay in business, then they must offer their membership some tangible reason for participation, such as having a direct effect on the locality itself or on local issues, by its action.

As an aspect of this the associations concerned with employment in particular, were concerned to place this concern both within a national context and a local context and in the case of Caribbean Community Enterprise, to define youth unemployment as a multi racial issue and not simply a 'black' issue, in order to reach its target population in terms of membership and users, although it has been shown that this problem definition changed over time partly in response to the programmatic possibilities that were available to this Association. This will be discussed fully later, but at this point

it is worth noting that the evidence suggests that one of the processes operating in determining associational behaviour, especially in the choice of goals, is that goals need to be chosen which are achievable, and if the level of achievability varies in relation to the amount of special funding available and the source of that funding, then goals will shift to maximise the potential for attracting funds.

It is not only visible, local level results that are necessary for motivating effective levels of membership, this study suggests. The literature on participation seems to suggest that the associations most able to recruit and retain their membership at a local level are those that operate with an 'issue' orientation. They thereby expend high levels of energy in short bursts over specific issues which need also to be highly visible. Although the implication drawn from this in the literature surveyed was that issue oriented associations tend to have a brief life span, fulfilling particular functions in relation to specific needs, this study suggests that another process may be operating.

All of the associations covered in the study were long lived, and none had been in existence for less than five years by the end of the period of observation. They nevertheless engaged in forms of action which may be designated 'issue oriented', for example NCGSA and pyramid selling, education, St Barnabas; CCE and education, employment; Albert Villa/Inkworks and St Barnabas. Thus, instead of new associations forming to fight specific issues and disbanding when the issue was resolved or deemed irresolvable, these associations although with a long term orientation, exhibited the characteristics of short term and issue oriented associations, and enjoyed the benefits of those associations in terms of maintaining membership and recruiting levels, but did not suffer the fate of these issue oriented associations, by disbanding when the particular issue was over.

It was suggested in Chapter Four that the question of 'style' in these associations was crucial in understanding their behaviour, and this seems to be the most relevant context in which to place this discussion of style. The important feature of issue oriented associations, as suggested by the literature, as far as participation is concerned, is that they take highly visible actions over highly visible issues, which attracts members who wish to see tangible benefits for their membership either in service terms or action terms, in a short period of time. This is basically a question of style. There are styles of public behaviour characteristic of issue oriented forms of action - combative, confrontationist and above all, vigorous. Many of the associations covered in this study exhibited the vigour of the short term campaign a number of times, and while a combative stance was not characteristic of any of these associations other than Albert Villa/Inkworks, all of the time, it was a definite characteristic of all of the associations some of the time.

It is the style, it is suggested here, that matters. This is not to say that the substance of the issue is not relevant, but that serial, episodic issue oriented behaviour is functional for the continued life of these associations. To argue this with more confidence however, it would be necessary to know more about the actual characteristics of the membership of these associations. For example, did they have a predominantly stable membership who engaged in those episodes and thereby were continuously stimulated in their membership? or was there a changing membership depending on which issue was being pursued? or was there a core of permanent members with an issue oriented changing membership population?

The most important aspect of the issues engaged in, is that they need to be seen as relevant. When NCGSA translated its interest in education, programmatically into a concern for racism awareness training, this was not seen as relevant or a legitimate activity for a black association articulating an ethnic interest. Rather than pursue the issue, which was consistent with

the Association's overall interest, NCGSA dissociated itself from this area and returned to safe educational issues. The WIPFA's role in the Bristol Omnibus dispute provides a clear illustration of both of these points about relevance and style. For many of the members, it was not seen as a relevant issue in which to become involved, and the confrontationist style that it demanded was not seen as compatible with the overall style of the Association. In this case, the problem was dealt with by forming the Development Council, a subsidiary, but programatically separate small Association, specifically to fight this issue with a membership drawn from the executive of WIPFA, but taking action in its own name and not that of WIPFA. This was the only instance of a stylistic or issue dissonance being handled in this way however, and the fact that it was so handled seems to confirm the point made here about stylistic compatibility and issue relevance.

The question of short term 'expressive' behaviour and long term 'instrumental' behaviour in terms of its relevance to the membership of associations and participation rates, raised a number of questions during the literature review. It was suggested that formulations of associational behaviour based on distinctions between expressive and instrumental characteristics of goal orientation, programmes and needs of members, which at the same time did not adequately distinguish between the cognitive and affective bases of participation, may be of limited value when applied to ethnic associations. This was so because of the central place that 'identity' occupied as a determinant of ethnic associational behaviour.

It was suggested that to distinguish between expressive and instrumental benefits for participation in an association which offered as a benefit of participation an enhanced self image as a product of reworking an unacceptable identity, it would be necessary to determine whether 'identity enhancement' was primarily expressive or instrumental in character and whether even in so doing, the instrumental/expressive approach would be relevant to understanding the processes under study here.

It was noted that this framework may be useful if we consider identity enhancement of a group as an associational aim to be instrumental, in the sense that it enhances boundary negotiation processes over the long term, whereas the individual identity enhancement sought by individual participants was an expressive aim - this distinction being made on the assumption that there was a different motivating force behind the two sorts of aims. Similarly, if the particular mix of cognitive and affective factors entailed in association membership and participation could be encompassed within a single affective/expressive; cognitive/instrumental framework, then again the expressive/instrumental framework may have some value. It was pointed out however that as the desire to identify with an ethnic group and use that identification as the basis for political action, had both a cognitive and an affective dimension, then any simple equating of 'personal' with affective; 'group' with instrumental fails to grasp the complexity of the dynamic relationship between affect, cognition and identity.

A possibly more fruitful approach noted was one which would take the notions of latent and manifest function, and goal displacement, which had been suggested were characteristic features of voluntary associations, and use these notions to account for the place of 'identity' in ethnic associational behaviour. This leads to a number of questions - could identity enhancement of individual users be thought of as a latent or manifest function of the association, or as a superordinate or subordinate goal, or for these associations does identity change, and maintenance constitute the superordinate aim, while the subordinate goal of the association is the stated aim if this is different from a goal implied by the superordinate aim. The implication if the latter were so, would be that goal displacement could be thought of as occurring at the level of subordinate goals only. In specific terms, it may be possible, this approach suggests, to view any conflict between a 'service' function and a 'political' function to be a debate not about those functions in themselves, but a debate

about the most effective way of enhancing ethnic identity, that is of fulfilling the superordinate aim.

The evidence from this study suggests that this may be the case. To say that an association has a stated aim, as in the case of NCGSA for example of fighting the effects of pyramid selling, but that there is little correspondence between this stated aim and the programmatic activity of the Association, which in this case, is primarily concerned with education, is to fail to appreciate the way that symbolism and the meaning of issues that associations adhere to inform their behaviour.

For NCGSA the disproportionate effects of pyramid selling on the West Indian community was an indication of the vulnerability of this group in the same way that WIPFA's concern with education was motivated by a recognition that West Indians were not adequately taught to be effective consumers of the welfare state or effective operatives to the benefit of their own community in service industries and occupations. Education - its relevance, and access to it, therefore for these groups became a shorthand way of both expressing the vulnerability of their target group - young West Indians, while at the same time developing a response to this vulnerability.

None of the associations had a declared overriding aim of 'enhancing West Indian identity' but in talking of 'developing black consciousness' or 'rediscovering their history' or even of just 'not accepting all that whites say', as they did, they were articulating a concern for enhancing identity. They chose to do this in a number of different ways. As already suggested, associations adopted and became identified with particular styles both of organization and operation, and the programmes developed both reflected this and contributed to it.

The intra association conflicts and even inter association conflicts as mentioned in the previous chapter were not conflicts over what the basic issues were. It has already been demonstrated that amongst the West Indian associations in particular, there was a high degree of consensus over issues

and what constituted a 'problem', but high levels of conflict did occur over the preferred response to those problems. In this sense then, it seems that an approach to understanding associational behaviour in situations where enhancing identity is a dominating principle of association, which approaches debates about programmes of conflicts over ways of attaining the superordinate aim rather than as conflicts between goals of the same order would be useful.

Following from this is the issue of service and political orientations, and the basis of the conflict between them. It has been suggested that these orientations arise from different ideological standpoints and are incompatible orientations within the one association, and that associations will either adopt one orientation, and if successful will reflect this both in philosophy and action, or if unsuccessful will adopt one, but find the association drawn with a great deal of internal conflict, towards the other orientation. An alternative approach noted was that which argued that they were not incompatible, because they derived from different ideological positions, but instead were competing tendencies which required the operation of an internal tension management process to effectively regulate the tension. Programmatic changes could be seen to be the result of both this process of competition, and the tension management process, and hence goal displacement as a way of describing shifts in programmes would be too simple a formulation of the process actually occurring, in the same way as it fails to deal with the complexity of a situation in which identity enhancement is a superordinate aim, with differing means of expression in programmatic terms.

Although the question of goal displacement has been introduced at this point, in relation to discussion of the service/politics conflict, it should be noted that this is only one aspect of the phenomenon described in the literature. The other main point made about goal displacement is the apparently endemic quality of voluntary associations whereby energy is diverted from goal attaining activity into organizational maintenance



activity. As suggested already with a number of the concepts drawn from the voluntary association/participation literature, this is not only a difficult matter of interpretation, but also an over-simplification of associational behaviour.

None of the associations, both Asian and West Indian, covered in this study exhibited characteristics which suggested that organizational maintenance was the overriding preoccupation at any particular point in time - that is to say, that the energy of the association was predominantly turned inward rather than being directed to externally oriented activity that was consistent with the Association's aims - whether the stated aim, or the ultimate aim of identity enhancement. While this may be true, it still does not capture the complexity or the subtlety of the actual process, which relates back to the previous points made about participation and instrumental and expressive benefits.

While none of the associations overtly pursued internal maintenance tasks at the expense of external functions, the choice of both issue and style at particular times may have had more to do with internal maintenance needs, such as attracting new members or retaining disaffected or unenthusiastic members than attaining externally oriented goals. All associations are concerned with demonstrating their relevance and hence affirming their legitimacy to their membership or prospective membership and this is demonstrated in style and action, as shown by the Sanatan Deevya Mandal in its fight for suitable premises to moot; Albert Villa/Inkworks in the way they responded to St Barnabas; NCGSA in the way it appropriated environmental concerns as matters of ethnic interest. Motive for choice of issue and operational style is difficult to assess and from the evidence of this study, needs to be judged in part by looking at the effects of particular actions taken by associations. That is, if an issue results in an increase of membership or a stabilizing of movement in membership and degrees of participation, then it could be argued that this

may have been intentional to some extent. Externally directed action therefore has a direct affect on internal maintenance.

The handling of the politics/service conflict and the involvement of the associations in welfare activities may be seen as an aspect of this facet of the goal displacement issue, just as it incorporates aspects of the conflicts between latent and manifest functions, and superordinate and subordinate aims.

The evidence from this study suggests that of the two approaches to understanding the service/politics conflict in associations, that approach represented by Rex which conceives of them as competing tendencies but not mutually exclusive orientations derived from different ideological standpoints, comes closest to describing the phenomenon as manifested by the associations studied, but is limited in important ways. Rex's formulation is particularly relevant though, because of the centrality of the place of welfare in it, as it suggests that the internal tension management process may result in the provision of 'welfare' to meet both service and political needs and because all of the associations in the study identified welfare as a function.

The dilemma for associations, suggests the literature, is that they need to provide direct benefits for their members, in terms of meeting short term needs, either as material benefits or by acting on their behalf in situations of conflict or difficulty with State agencies. At the same time they often have a higher order aim of acting as a lobby or political pressure group, on the issues around which they have mobilized. Fulfilling a service function is seen as a distraction for the politically oriented association, but as a necessary activity to enhance or gain legitimacy from its constituency, and it is such an important issue, because once the functions change, from political to service, it is often difficult to return to the previous and primary orientation.

As mentioned, Rex's approach is relevant to some extent, but this study suggests that the place of 'welfare' in the tension management process, and indeed the nature of the tension management process itself as conceived of in this approach, needs some revision.

All of the associations in the study were concerned with welfare, which ranged from direct intervention in interpersonal relationship problems and 'welfare rights' issues, through the indirect intervention required in intercession with government agencies on behalf of 'client' members, to a broad and rather vague commitment to the 'welfare and well being of the member'. West Indian associations were more inclined to adopt a direct intervention approach to their welfare activities, while Asian associations were generally unwilling to interpret a concern for welfare as a direct or indirect intervention. Although this attitude by the Asian associations has been confirmed as characteristic in other urban contexts (Lees and McGrath, 1974), it needs further comment than this. None of the Asian associations were 'service agencies', in the sense that they were established to provide a welfare service to the Asian community, or a part of it. Any interest in welfare that they showed was in a sense incidental, rather than the central concern that it would be for a service agency. Albert Villa and Caribbean Community Enterprise to some extent were in fact service agencies designed primarily to meet welfare needs and hence had a greater involvement in this area. The significance of this, that the West Indian community contained service agencies while the Asian community did not may lay in other factors, but not as Sondhi's (1982) recent discussion of the Asian Resource Centre in Handsworth, shows, because it is a foreign organizational concept.

Part of the explanation for the difference between West Indian and Asian associations in Bristol in this matter, may rest in the concept of institutional completeness introduced both in the first chapter on Ethnogenesis, and in the context of Bristol in chapter three. If the Asian

community, with mainly strong religious based associations and a degree of economic independence from the majority grouping, to a point well short of institutional completeness which would entail alternative economic and social structures, demonstrates an ability to contain, if not necessarily effectively deal with welfare issues, then there is little need to direct funding or energy into the provision of service agencies. Thus, whether or not there are actually stronger structures for dealing with welfare matters, if the community believes that these exist, then there is an unwillingness, and little perceived need to go outside the community or more importantly, to provide a specific service.

For the West Indian community, there is overall no attempt at institutional completeness, in the sense that there is with the Asian community and the strength of the West Indian associations in terms of proving their relevance and enhancing their legitimacy is not in attempting as a major priority, to contain welfare issues, but to respond as has been shown, by demonstrating that they can provide a more relevant service, while at the same time demanding a better response from State agencies.

The position of the West Indian associations on this is somewhat confusing, and this confusion is a result of the tension between the service and politics orientations, and the way this is handled. There seems to be two apparently incompatible aims being pursued - to provide a community derived, self-help response, and to encourage a better state response. This incompatibility is more apparent than real however.

It was suggested in the previous chapter that one way of characterizing the service/politics resolution evidenced by Albort Villa, was to suggest that they provide a conventional casework service while at the same time using a radical community work rhetoric, but that this was not an accurate reflection of the process actually in operation, because it ignored the question of style, which it has been argued, is crucial to an understanding of ethnic associational behaviour.

The casework service, either reflected in direct intervention or indirect intervention is informed by the political analysis of the association, such that a service and a political orientation are not mutually exclusive or incompatible, but in fact complementary. With an advocate style of intervention which shifts the emphasis from 'clients' onto the State for the understanding of problem genesis and for developing a response, it has been suggested that a 'political service' approach results, in which the advocate and clearly partisan interventionist style in itself legitimates to a large extent the provision of the welfare function, and legitimates the existence of the association.

Welfare in this case is not a deviation from a central tendency, but an expression of it. While this may be the case for an association containing any of the characteristics of a 'service agency', in which welfare is a large part of their everyday functioning, it is necessary to note what differences if any, may exist in smaller associations which perform a welfare function, and whether for them also, there is this degree of compatibility between politics and service orientations.

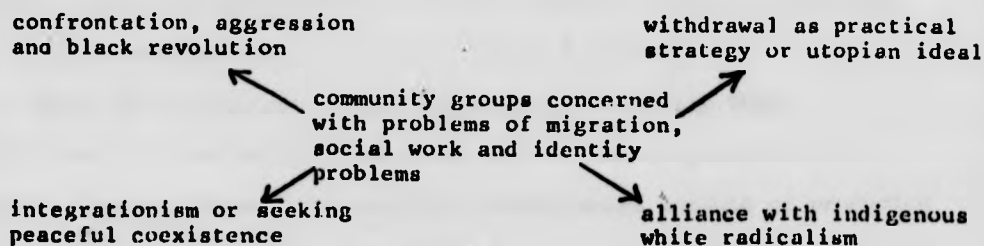
For the WIPFA, the concern with single mothers is perceived as directly relevant by many of the membership who are single parents themselves, and the use of particular 'cases' to make political points to the authorities is thought to be a legitimate tactic, as it does not involve an either/or decision about directly meeting specific needs of members and the association acting as a political pressure group. Similarly with NCGSA, as a smaller Association involved in both direct and indirect intervention. The smaller associations differ from the larger associations, not in terms then of a differential ability to resolve this tension, but in relation to the symbolic use made of their welfare activity. The small associations made more use of fewer examples of casework and used those in a public way as a necessary means of establishing relevance and legitimacy. The larger associations,

Albert Villa and Caribbean Community Enterprise made the same political points simply by the scale of their welfare activity. For them, the scale of both the problem and the response were subjected to a political analysis, and in themselves were not used symbolically. Thus from this study, the main difference between large and small associations, in relation to the size of the welfare task they perform seems to rest on this symbolism that welfare may be subjected to.

It has been suggested that the welfare function acts as a means of reconciling service/politics if it results in the development of a 'political service' provision and that this must involve both direct and indirect intervention with 'client' members of a partisan kind, reflected primarily in an advocate style of intervention. Where Rex's model talked simply of the provision of 'welfare' as one of the functions of the ethnic association, this study suggests that the welfare function, if it is to be an effective mode of tension management, must be of the particular sort described, that is, one which both politicises the casework, and individualizes the politics by using an advocate style of individual casework.

Referring back to Rex and Tomlinson's (1979) model of associational behaviour in terms of central tendencies and alternative and competing tendencies, some of the differences between their formulation based on observation in Handsworth and this study of associations in Bristol becomes readily apparent.

It has been argued here that the following representation of associational behaviour:



is limited because it does not conceive of associations acting strategically over a number of issues, and hence not only being able to accommodate potentially competing tendencies, but actually initiating seemingly divergent approaches to their external relations.

The associations surveyed here, while generally operating from the central position indicated in the diagram, also showed an ability to adopt another tendency as a matter of tactical choice. Albert Villa for example, formed alliances with indigenous white radical groups over housing. Very importantly, they and the Inkworks were able to accommodate different strands of black nationalist ideology - the separatism of some of the Rastafarian members, and the more aggressive confrontationist style of other members, while at the same time pursuing a policy of negotiation with the local authority over St Barnabas for example, which contained elements of an integrationist style, as it was consciously working through the political system.

One important question raised by Rex and Tomlinson's formulation was that of the actual behaviour of the ethnic association engaged in working on issues of identity. This study suggests that the role of welfare may be important in this respect and again, this is shown most clearly by Albert Villa and to a lesser extent by Caribbean Community Enterprise. While the National Community Growth and Support Association and the West Indian Parents and Friends Association were concerned with developing a consciousness of oppression and a 'black consciousness' in general terms at an individual level, Albert Villa were using their welfare service consciously to raise the level of political awareness, and ethnic consciousness in the users of the centre.

Their use of welfare to encourage users to clarify their relationship to the majority grouping and the state agencies was a direct attempt to develop a level of consciousness capable of producing

subjective changes in perception of ethnic identity. In the same way, CCE's approach to unemployment showed an increasing identification of this as an ethnic issue, with an analysis that gave a clear guide as to how the issue should contribute to a reworking of identity. The final phase noted in this study of their involvement with unemployment as an issue, the migrationist response of Gyanian work camps speaks directly to a need to identify with an entity greater than the self and an entity with more relevance than a painful identification as "Black British" allowed. CCE again demonstrate in their ability to maintain a strategy of integrationism in education and separatism in employment, that "deviation" from a central tendency can be a matter of strategic choice about the handling of particular issues, and this represents a sophistication in associational behaviour not allowed for in Rex and Tomlinson's model.

'Ethnic social work, in Rex's terms, for some associations, is not peripheral to their functioning as "identity groups", but as argued may itself be crucial to the way that new identities are worked out. This study also suggests that not only may confrontation and aggression as associational tendencies contribute to the formation of identity groups, but they can inform the operation of self-help groups as well, as it contributes to the creation of a particular style of undertaking ethnic social work.

This question as to whether associations are characterised by a central tendency accompanied by 'deviant' tendencies, and the evidence offered from this study also raises the issue as to whether it is possible to assert that functional distinctiveness is a feature of these associations. This issue arose in the context of the discussion of the performance of a welfare function in chapter 4, and the suggestion that it may be difficult to separate out the functions performed by associations such as overcoming social isolation, reaffirming values and providing welfare services



as distinct functions. It does seem that this need only become an issue if for example the symbolic use or the political use made of individual examples or 'cases' overrides the performance of a discrete function, but is not an issue if there is a mixing of functions. For example, the provision of a welfare service may also be consciously used by an association as it was by NCGSA and Albert Villa in particular, to suggest that self-help was a cultural value which needed to be reinforced.

An aspect of associational behaviour suggested by Perrys' (1976) analysis was that associations became more conservative over time in terms of program development, if not always at the level of rhetoric, and indeed increased conservatism of action maybe masked by an increased radicalism in rhetoric. This was not found to be the case in the study, either in the West Indian or Asian associations. As with most of the other propositions arising from the literature however, a simple negative on this hypothesis conveys nothing of the subtlety of the actual process and gives no indication as to why this feature was not found to be the case with the particular sample of associations included in this study.

Perhaps the most important factor in explanation of this is the nature of the groups studied. Perry's observation refers to city wide black-American associations, many of which came into existence during the 1960's with funding from the Model Cities Program and the War on Poverty Programme. They articulated radical concerns which attracted funding, and to retain these funds had to maintain a radical stance which was not always reflected in their actual programmes, because it is suggested they generally chose a 'service' orientation over time, moving away from the original 'political' orientation.

The situation revealed by the present study was if anything, the opposite to this process. Primarily, it is suggested because of the different nature of the groups, as mentioned. Many of the associations were founded by first generation immigrants and in the Asian associations

in particular, the conservatism of the associations was challenged by second generation 'migrants' or the younger members of the associations, even if technically first generation migrants themselves. This move away from conservatism in the West Indian associations was characterised mainly by changes within associations of such an order that they bear little relation in character to the original associations. This is especially so of the Inkworks and St Pauls Advice Centre. Generally, the movement has been one of these associations changing from having a multi racial character to being black organisations primarily, in membership, users and management, in which the association becomes a strong base for articulating demands and concerns, encouraging the use of a wider range of external relation behaviour options than previously available.

The conservatism of associations and internal tension, was also raised in the literature in the context of discussions of the dual functions that ethnic associations have to undertake in the urban setting - maintaining 'traditional' values and culture the conservative function while at the same time, acting as a buffer between the ethnic community and the wider society, and fulfilling the functions of a socialising agency - the innovative function. This conservative function it has been suggested (Lees 1975; Barr 1980) mitigates against the provision of this necessary socialising function, and encourages a defensive isolationism at the expense of developing urban coping skills. (Adams 1974).

This study suggests that West Indian associations and Asian associations have a different relationship to this phenomenon, and that it may be a formulation more characteristic of associations found in a 'migrant' phase of adjustment to urban settings, rather than characteristic of later stages of community development. For the Asian associations,

their behaviour is clearly marked by the necessity to provide both a 'cultural monitoring' and an enhancing of coping skills, and this generally tends to be a tension which is dealt with at the level of the individual association. The development of the Central Asian Council however, represents an attempt, at a broad community level, to operate on the basis of innovative characteristics, exploring new forms of pressure group politics on the basis that religious based associations are inherently incapable because of the logic of their conservatism, to adopt this style of activity. Within individual associations, for example Sanatan Deevya Mandal, there is a concern with the potential divisiveness of this tension between conservatism and innovation, which has been responded to by incorporating the younger members, where possible, into their 'cultural education' programme of giving talks in schools and exhibitions of Indian Classical Dancing.

In an important way this affirmation of cultural distinctiveness maybe seen as non-conservative behaviour, in the face of a perceived pressure from a majority grouping to set aside some aspects of culture. This is the obvious link with those West Indian associations who see the affirmation of cultural distinctiveness as a radical act in the face of perceived pressure to assimilate. For these associations also, there is not the same pressure to provide 'urban coping skills' for a community with a large urban background component.

Thus, this conservative/innovative issue is one that is more complex than for example Lopota (1964) suggests, and relates to the background of the ethnic groups; the phases of settlement e.g. a 'migrant' phase or a later stage of development. Most importantly it needs to be considered in the context of the way the ethnic group perceives attitudes to its cultural distinctiveness and whether this perception results in defensive inclusiveness or isolation, or an offensive cultural militancy,

as it had in portions of the West Indian Community.

In noting as here, that innovative or conservative tendencies may in part be a function of the stage that an ethnic community, and hence its associations may be at in terms of length of settlement, the place of the processual approach of Kuo (1977) and Martins' (1972) interactionist approach becomes apparent. Kuo's suggestion that certain types of association are relevant at particular times, and that there are distinct phases discernable in the functioning of associations, while a useful formulation at a general level, in that it suggests that associations either change their functions over time or come into existence at a particular phase and cope with the tensions arising if other functions become more appropriate, was of limited value in explaining the detail of associational functioning covered by this study.

Again, one of the main reasons for this is in the nature of the ethnic minority under study. Kuo's study was of a highly urbanised and well established Chinese settlement in New York, with a strong economic base, and exhibiting many features of institutional completeness, in controlling significant portions of the service economy, education, religion and local politics relevant to its functioning. The four phases she found - economic orientation, modern service association, political pressure associations, and united political action associations were not found in the present study to characterise the development of the any of the associations, although as indicated earlier, they all exhibited characteristics of each of the phases other than the economic orientation. As indicated also, the associations covered here tended to adopt one or more of these positions as a matter of strategic choice, or more simply, performed functions which required at times the emphasis of one or these orientations rather than another.

These orientations therefore represented not discrete phases over time, or conflicting orientations held simultaneously but different

emphases that may be given to the functioning of the associations, and not necessarily competing tendencies as it has been argued that it is not only possible but arises out of the logic of the philosophy of some associations to express their political orientation for example, by provision of a 'politicized' welfare service.

The difficulties of applying Kuo's findings also apply to Martins typology of associations. While the framework she developed to reflect her interactionist perspective - internal minority organisation, goal definition and achievement, the attainment of identity, the interplay of host and minority perceptions, and the handling of external relations is a useful way of classifying the component processes of minority group functioning, they clearly do not correspond as particular types with the associations of concern in this study. The associations studied here are not readily classifiable as types, as Martin conceives of them, as the associational structure developed in the West Indian Community contains elements of types B, C, and D; while Asian minority organisation processes reflect aspects of types A, B and C.

This is an important point, as it reinforces the contention made earlier that intra-ethnic differences in terms of attainment of identity and associational goals and in terms of modes of inter-ethnic interaction is as strong in this situation as inter-ethnic differences, although the model does not lend itself to indicating whether this inter-ethnic difference, which it has been suggested is primarily conflictual is between in this case, West Indians and White, Asians and Whites or West Indians and Asians. The discussion in the previous chapter on the pursuit of ethnic interests and the possibilities of a united 'black' approach on some issues illustrates the importance of both intra and inter ethnic conflict on the behaviour of associations, and also suggests that as well as the process labelled 'inter play of host and minority perceptions' that an additional element needs to be added to the model to cover the interplay of the various minority

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perceptions. While the 'host/minority' element concerns attitudes to assimilation for example, and the programatic effects of differences of opinion, between the host and minority groups, it could be suggested that on the evidence of this study, both intra and inter ethnic differences of opinion on relationships to the majority grouping and most importantly, to each other should also be included.

In addition to this factor a further limitation with Martins' model revealed by the present study is in the range of options covered by the 'attainment of identity' element. In the model, it is suggested that there is either a rigid determination to preserve traditional identity intact; the development of a new and unique identity viable in the minority's present situation; a disagreement about whether to preserve the old or forge a new identity; or a struggle between groups over the claim to represent the minority's new identity.

What this presupposes is that the ethnic groups exercising these options will have the power to operationalize their choice. Such a one-sided view of identity construction processes does not seem to be consistent with the overall interactionist perspective of Martins framework, and therefore does not allow for a complete analysis of identity bargaining processes that may be pursued by both parties - majority and minority.

As well as this, a comprehensive list of 'identity attainment' options would have to include in addition to those listed, an option which allowed for a group who had a 'non traditional' identity to attempt not to pursue a traditional identity, but to create one as part of a process of defining their ethnicity. This model as it stands, does not allow for the sort of identity construction process evident in the cultural separatism of the Inkworks, or the ethnic identity constructive activity evident in the political welfare functioning of Albert Villa. Neither does it cope adequately with the shifts in Carribbean Community Enterprises definitions of what constitutes matters of ethnic interest, and the implications for



identity construction processes of their shift from a 'multi-cultural' perspective to an identification with Africa and with a re-definition of multi-racial issues as purely ethnic issues.

Linking these points on attainment of identity and an ability to identify West Indians with a 'type' in Martins framework, it appears that the model even though consciously an interactionist one with a core of concern about identity, is not a fine enough tool to handle the phenomenon which the evidence suggests was present in the situation under study.

That phenomenon relates to the presence of fundamental differences between the West Indian and Asian portions of Bristol's ethnic population, and very importantly the presence of fundamental differences as sharp, and in some instances sharper than these, between elements of the West Indian community which seem to be most strongly in evidence in the different approaches to defining ethnic interest; in different associational behaviour, particularly as related to the management of internal tensions; and in the different orientations towards identity.

This has implications for some of the propositions generated in the literature concerning similarities and differences between Asian and West Indian communities and associations, and in particular calls into question the ability of these sorts of analyses to adequately cope with the complexities of intra-ethnic difference.

One suggestion concerning leadership made in the literature is that with a small leadership pool in the West Indian community, and a tendency towards an 'individualism' not evident in Asian associations or leaders, that the effectiveness of communal associations is limited. Similarly, the internal divisions in West Indian communities which divide them in terms of length of residence age and generation differences and sex differences; and differences between 'respectable' and 'non-respectable' associations are held to be a direct cause of the paucity and ephemerality of West Indian associations that Pearson (1977) reports. The final elements in this



cluster of limiting factors to associational effectiveness identified by Pearson is the equation of 'island' associations with first generation immigrants and 'communal' associations with second generation, which given the generational differences he identifies as relevant, is a severe constraint on the viability of communal associations. These factors generally reinforce those suggested by Heinemann (1972) as limiting factors such as cleavages due to colour consciousness; residential mobility; lack of associational experience, and problems of evolving a viable group identity.

The first difficulty with these 'principles of dissassociation' is that they relate to communal associations, or in Pearson's terms, associations which represent 'West Indian' concerns rather than island or sectional interests. It has already been noted that there were no communal associations in this study in the sense that Rex's (1979) model implies - associations that act as umbrella organisations, having a function among other things, of managing the tension between divergent constituent associations. As was suggested earlier however, if a communal association is defined in terms of interest rather than function, as Pearson does, then this enables a useful comparison to be made between associations as to the communal or sectional basis of their interests.

Evidence has been offered in this study as to the definition of ethnic interest held by the associations, which revealed that there was a high level of consensus as to what constituted matters of ethnic interest, but a wide variation in the specific meaning that was placed on the areas of interest, and the response developed to it. Individualism, as it was identified in the present study was a feature of the range of approaches to ethnic issues not in definition of these issues but this does not mean necessarily that this characteristic has its roots in the structure of the West Indian Community. For example, with a number of associations correctly identifying education and unemployment as issues, and having to

prove their relevance and viability or enhancing their legitimacy by developing a coherent response to these, there was competition for resources, with the result that associations developed different responses in order to tap different resources to enable the translation of their interest into programmes. CCE attempted to tap the formal further education sector of local government and develop a response in education relevant to this sector; NCGSA sought finance for summer schools; Inkworks sought funds for summer schools and their ethnic and culture classes. Thus the availability of external sources of funding may actually create a divergence in the West Indian community that would not arise in other circumstances, creating this strong impression of individualism.

A complicating factor in this however, relates to the leadership style evident in this study. For associations acting outside the framework of conventional politics and not affiliated to parties with attendant publicity and funding machinery and policy constraints, there is a relatively high degree of freedom of response and associational style. The leaders of the West Indian associations covered all exhibited the 'entrepreneurial' characteristics necessary for obtaining funds, demonstrating the associations viability and relating to government agencies. They showed a wide range of management styles varying from the autocratic style of NCGSA and CCE to the democratic flattened hierarchy style of Albert Villa and the Inkworks, and between them exhibited, as already argued, a range of styles from conservative to radical.

It was noted earlier that associations need to set achievable goals, and this is of relevance here also, in the sense that just as particular sources of funding are being competed for, so particular goals may be competed for, such that associations will need to redefine goals so that they have a better chance of their particular association attaining particular goals. This was evidenced especially by the way that associations clearly felt that they 'owned' particular aspects of the education

or unemployment issue.

The implication of these observations is that there are many factors that arise out of both the imposition of external factors and the logic of the organisation or association process itself, and that it should not be assumed that the 'principles of dissociation' identified in the literature are necessarily endogenous in origin.

There were clearly some factors inherent in the West Indian community that produced the sorts of cleavages that Pearson observed, such as the fact that Albert Villa and the Inkworks generally had its support base in the second generation, while the others were primarily first generation supported associations, but this did not predict, as Pearson suggests, to a division along 'island'/'communal' lines where island associations were linked with first generation support and communal with second generation support.

The most significant area of divergence evident in this study, was between those associations which define themselves as 'multi-racial' and those who saw themselves as 'black'. In most cases, except in CCE in its 'multi-racial' phase, this multi-racialism was more an ideal than it was a reality, but there was still a marked distinction between associations on this basis, which was evident both in the way they perceived issues of ethnic interest, and in the response developed to these, and in the overall style of the association. Albert Villa and Inkworks clearly functioned in a different way in all of these areas than did the other associations, and it was only when CCE redefined itself as a primarily black association with a strong identification with the future of Africa rather than the future of Britain, that it too, approximated the Albert Villa/Inkworks style.

It was suggested earlier that there was a qualitative difference between the ethnicity and the degree of ethnic consciousness evident in Albert Villa, Inkworks, and the later CCE, and the other associations.

In McKay and Lewin's (1978) terms, this difference appears to be that as between an ethnic consciousness and an ethnic awareness. In other words the quality of the difference corresponds to that found between ethnic groups and ethnic categories.

This is crucial, for the presence of both 'category type' associations and 'group type' associations within the West Indian community is not a feature noted in any of the previous analyses of associational structure and function in West Indian communities, where as noted, the emphasis has been on articulating 'principles of dissociation', particularly an individualistic associational style, which has been sharply contrasted with the 'collectivism' characteristic of Asian associations.

The present study, in addition to suggesting that certain West Indian associations exhibit an ethnic group style of behaviour and level of consciousness, must also challenge what appears to be an oversimplification in designating Asian associations or communities as being primarily collectivist in character. The Asian associations covered in the study show high levels of disagreement over methods of internal organisation and management style; over fundamental questions of identity definition; over goals for both individual associations and the Asian community as a whole; and over the handling of external relations.

The fundamental difference between the Asian and West Indian communities with regard to negotiation about identity, as identified by this study, is that while much of the activity of the Inkworks, Albert Villa and the CCE, and to a very small degree the other West Indian associations as well, is concerned as well as the programmatic content with defining a viable ethnic group identity and negotiating via their associational activity to have this identity confirmed and legitimated in its distinctiveness, this is all presumed to exist in the case of the Asian associations, and

therefore as a superordinate associational aim does not exist in the same way.

Asian associations in the study are, except for the Central Asian Council operating from a strong religious base which in many cases is reinforced by a distinct geographical or geopolitical identification as well. The fact, viability and legitimacy of an 'ethnic group' identity is not under question, and is accepted not only by whites, but by other ethnic communities as well. As mentioned however, Asian associations while representative of distinct religions and regions and recognised as such, show high levels of disagreement between themselves as to priorities. The 'collectivism' noted of Asian communities seems from this study, to be a feature of individual associations rather than the Asian community as a whole. There is thus a fairly low level of intra-associational conflict but higher levels of inter-associational conflict and high levels of inter-ethnic conflict as already argued.

One important point about Asian minorities and identity, is that because they enter into inter-ethnic situations with a high degree of resolution and perceived legitimacy of ethnic distinctiveness, this does not mean that there is no negotiation about identity taking place in inter-ethnic contact. The creation of the Central Asian Council as one of its functions represents an attempt to 'secularise' an Asian identity which is presumed to derive predominantly from religious characteristics. It is attempting to add a political dimension to an identity that is presumed by a majority group to lack this dimension. The Asian Council in its vigorous attempts to match the political flavour of some of the West Indian associations sets itself philosophically and tactically apart from the 'folding of hands and asking forgiveness' with which the Sanatan Deeva Mandal had met what it saw as overt discriminatory behaviour directed at the Mandal.

This is important for any model of ethnic group processes which makes a distinction between collectivities on the basis of the legitimacy of internally constructed group identity which is largely preformed and used as a basis for negotiation over resources, and other collectivities for whom salient aspects of identity are worked out in the course of inter-ethnic contact.

This study suggests that even for collectivities defined as ethnic groups, there may be an element of identity bargaining in inter-ethnic contact via associations - a process not allowed for in the literature on ethnic group formation and boundary negotiation processes. The difference between this level of identity bargaining and that pursued by an ethnic category is still great however, as the latter constitutes bargaining over the power of the collectivity to define basic characteristics of its identity, while the former is more concerned with bargaining on detail. This however does not mean that already identifiable ethnic groups cannot also embark on a boundary negotiation process which is attempting to effect fundamental changes in group identity definition, merely that this was not the case in the groups covered in this study.

This process would presumably be evidenced by associations redefining what were legitimate areas of ethnic concern, such as to reflect a changed perception of what meaning was attached to the groups ethnicity. There was no workers association in Bristol, and no concentrations of Asian workers in particular areas such that economic issues, in general, or work conditions in particular, could be identified as ethnic issues, action on which may have lead to a reworking of ethnicity in that context. This may have some bearing on the fact that politicizing aspects of Asian identity in Bristol has to be undertaken by reference to areas not as readily identified as political as the workplace, but by reference to education and policing in ethnic communities.<sup>(11)</sup>

Interestingly, while the policing of ethnic communities has become a highly public and political issue, especially since the riots of 1980 and 1981, in Bristol and nationally, there appears to be no basis at present for this being identified as an ethnic interest by Asians in such a way as to contribute to a 'black unity' approach to it in Bristol. This is because Asian calls for representation on a police liaison committee were motivated by different reasons than the West Indian associations calling for representation. For the West Indian groups, the concern was with the insensitive and discriminatory policing methods, while for the Asians it was a concern with the number of attacks on Asians by West Indian gangs.

While issues, it has been argued, contribute to the articulation of ethnic interest, and choice of issues around which to mobilize becomes a crucial feature because of the space and opportunity it generates to rework, for some associations, ethnic concerns as a method of negotiating about identity, style is also an important factor. The literature suggests that there is an ethnic category style of associational behaviour, identified as 'West Indian' and an ethnic group style, identified as 'Asian' and while choice of issues is an important determinant of an associations style, so also, it has been argued, is the behaviour and structure of the association.

The style adopted by Albert Villa, Inkworks and in the later stages, CCE was a conflict oriented approach which made explicit the ethnic basis for their actions, and which was consciously a political approach which in attempting to create the inclusiveness of the ethnic group, seemed to evidence what Rex characterised as 'defensive confrontation'.

Overall then, the study suggests that there is no simple correspondence between an ethnic group style and Asians and an ethnic category style and West Indians; and that in fact a number of West Indian associations that are engaged in a process of renegotiating their identity, exhibit

characteristics of ethnic group style associations. Not only is this the case however but it is argued that some Asian associations are also engaged to some extent in redefining their ethnicity even though starting from a base of a legitimated ethnic group.

Associations, it appears are crucial to an identity bargaining process due to their ability to formulate demands and identify issues as matters of ethnic concern, and devise responses to these which reinforce them as ethnic issues. Associations are placed at the interface between ethnic communities and the majority group, as represented by 'official' agencies and it is in interaction with these agencies that negotiation about identity issues takes place.

As associations need to meet the needs of members, and ensure continued organisational viability by regulating the tensions between conflicting aims, they choose both issues and response styles that enable these to occur. In as much as the associations are more or less consciously articulating ethnic concerns, so the membership and the response style varies as to the level of ethnic awareness or consciousness displayed, and the level of political awareness which is necessary for the association representing ethnic group interests.

While no true communal, in the sense of umbrella, associations existed in the West Indian community, a broad range of style and definitions of ethnic interest existed. A communal association would presumably have reflected the presence of this diversity of associational behaviour, and examination of internal tension management processes would have revealed that energy was being expended on reconciling the tensions between Albert Villa, Inkwork, CCE and with other associations. The fact that no such communal association existed, and that these three associations oppose such an association is an indication that they see themselves as competent to undertake an identity bargaining process directly, and as argued earlier, the non-collaborative style at a political level evidenced towards



the end of the period of study was a matter of tactical choice based on an affirmation of their distinctiveness. For the other associations who supported the idea of a communal association, there was a reluctance at the same time to enter coalitions because of a fear of losing their associational identity and it has been demonstrated how a process of associations 'owning' issues contributes to this feeling of identity.

In terms of the implications of these conclusions for ethnic politics in Bristol, Pearsons' observation that the importance of West Indian associations resides in their ability to function as intermediate bodies linking the community to the formal political structure is confirmed, but needs some qualification. In situations where there are sources of funding available to these associations that require negotiation with the local authority, or central government representatives, then they act in the same way as a trade union or working class movement in representing group interest, as Rex suggests.

They also act as an alternative mode of political association to formal political parties, but unfortunately there is not the evidence in this study to measure the extent to which this is the case. In interviews, executive members of both Asian and West Indian associations clearly stated that they saw their interests being served better by their associations who could directly negotiate with government agencies, rather than by political parties, for whom they would only be one interest.

As the study showed, there is little to suggest that a black unity process, or a process linking the concerns of Asian and West Indian communities and associations is likely to be a preferred form of action. This is primarily because the associations are at a stage of defining and pursuing specific ethnic group interest. It was argued that in the one area that nearly all the associations covered had an interest - education, that this interest was expressed in specific ethnic group terms, and that issues such as discrimination had to be articulated by an external body

which itself had a responsibility for determining issues with black unity potential in the areas of education and employment.

The degree of cohesiveness and inclusiveness necessary for the effective pursuit of an ethnic organisation process, as Miles and Phizacklea (1977) suggest, has been shown here to mitigate against the development of a black unity form of political organisation. Interests are defined narrowly, and the very occasional instances of Asian and West Indian associations identifying a common political interest are extremely short-lived and highly specific, such as demonstrating against a National Front meeting being held in a multi-racial school.

Overall, examination of the structure and function of ethnic associations can be seen to be a useful way of meeting one of the main difficulties identified with operationalising the concept of ethnogenesis, that of how to measure how much change is necessary and how to measure such change, in order to say that a process of transformation from an ethnic category to an ethnic group is occurring or has occurred.

The present study has argued that it is possible to measure this process by reference to ethnic associational behaviour, although as has also been argued, assessing associations in this way calls into question many assumptions about associations and reveals many limitations in the current approaches to understanding the nature of ethnic identity, and ethnic associations.

A number of problems were encountered in undertaking this study, some extrinsic to it, and some arising out of the research tasks set. These need to be commented upon, as does the April 2nd 1980 'disturbance', in order to see how such an important event which had profound implications in terms of associational behaviour afterwards, may be understood using the framework developed here. The following chapter, in addition to commenting on these issues will conclude by noting the limitations of the present study and suggest areas for future research.

## CHAPTER SIX

### RESEARCH ISSUES

In previous chapters, some comment has been made on various aspects of the research task itself, and these will now be explored in more detail. As mentioned in chapter three, there is no coverage of the West Indian churches, particularly the Pentecostal church, in this study; although there are clear indications in the literature (Pearson 1978; Martin 1972) that religious affiliation may be an important determinant of voluntary association membership and behaviour - either being seen as consistent with a voluntary association style of participation or providing a direct alternative to it.

All of the Pentecostal churches invited to participate in the study declined. This was not, it was emphasised, because they disagreed with the objectives of the study, and indeed interest in the questions of ethnicity and the political organisation of welfare was keen. They refused to participate because of factors extrinsic to this study, which had engendered a high level of mistrust of research.

The publication of the most recent study of West Indians in Bristol (Pryce 1975) with its graphic description of West Indian lifestyles, particularly those of 'Saints' or Pentecostal members, was the first many in the church knew of the research undertaken by the author of the study - a member of the church. It is difficult to overestimate the importance of this event on the West Indian community, and the Pentecostal churches in particular. The feelings of being betrayed by a black research worker, led to a depth of bitterness, such that even by the end of the period of observation for this study in 1981, the incident was being referred to by association leaders, and passed on as a cautionary tale within the associations.

Access problems caused by an inability to transcend cultural barriers at both a personal and a conceptual level as anticipated from the literature (Nobles 1973; Brazziel 1973; Couchman 1973; McGee 1973; Gordon 1973; Williams 1968) and from prior experience in working with ethnic associations in a community development capacity (Jackson 1974) were intensified by this particular aspect of the local situation. This access problem, while resulting in some organisations not being covered at all in the study, limited contact with some others and resulted in a lengthy 'vetting' process where it was seen how the material was being used. This in turn raised other issues about access.

In almost all cases, the associations agreed to take part only if the director, chairman, president or whoever held the most senior office in the association controlled access to executive committees. As regards the rank and file membership of the associations, almost all of the associations requested that individual members not be approached. While to some extent this was not problematic, as leadership and management style were areas that had been noted for observation, it gave little opportunity to test leaderships perceptions of associational structure and function, with other members. Specifically, it did not allow any detailed analysis of decision making in terms of issue definition and response, to be made, which would have exposed either latent or manifest intra-organisational conflict, about matters of fundamental concern to this study.

This difficulty of having access only to leaders of organisations, thereby tending to assume that the flow of power necessarily correlated with a hierarchical organisational form, and the difficulties of using either a 'reputational' method or a 'prior identification' method of determining leadership have been well documented, (Hunter 1953; Newton 1969; Miller 1970).

These difficulties were partly overcome by having better access to those associations which were run by management committees, rather than simply executive member committees, although even here, the exact nature of decision making and power distribution was not as clear as it may have been.

An additional disadvantage in terms of developing a more complete analysis of associational behaviour, caused by lack of access to the membership, was that it was not possible to make detailed observations on participation. As was mentioned in the previous chapter, it would be useful to know whether membership changed as priorities over particular issues changed, whether there was a stable core of membership which responded with increased activism to different issues, or whether a stable core was supplemented by members attracted to particular issues. Knowing this about participation would add more depth to our understanding about the relationship of ethnicity to participation. If different degrees of ethnic identification predict to differential affiliation rates to ethnic groups, and ethnic associations are the public face of these groups as suggested in chapter one, then the pursuit of ethnic interest, expressed as associational interest on particular issues, may tell us whether, and under what conditions, ethnic identification may be situation specific.

By having limited access to the associations an important difficulty arose as to the interpretation of associational behaviour. Saunders (1980) suggests that we need to distinguish between routine associational behaviour and episodic or reactive behaviour in order to clarify issues such as flexibility, decision making and goal setting. By generally not having access to the associations in their routine operations, but observing them in operation in largely episodic situations, some of the detail and complexity is lost. This is inevitable, if the researcher is

ineligible for membership of the associations and three methods were employed in the study to cope with the difficulty of needing access to routine behaviour but often being only in the position of observing episodic behaviour which may or may not have been typical.

Firstly, about sixty interviews with office holders of the associations were held over the six year period, about twenty taking place every two years. These were concerned with obtaining basic information on structure, in terms of goal determination, management styles and decision making; and perceptions of them as ethnic associations. They were also to gain information on the functioning of the associations. They proved an inefficient and crude method of obtaining information on functioning, although they were better for obtaining information on structural aspects.

The basic problem with attempting to gain information on functioning was that most of the interviewees simply stated that the associations met their constitutional aims, and fulfilled the functions for which they were founded. Similarly, when they were asked to comment on how they were different from associations having much the same constitutions and sets of objectives, as for example did NCGSA and WIPFA, none of the interviewees would discuss the detail of their differences, or confirm the areas of similarity, but instead asserted simply that they were different, and more importantly, that each of the associations had a legitimate role to play.

While it is understandable that interviewees would be reluctant to suggest that some of the associations may be interchangeable, and took pains to emphasise the validity and viability of their distinctiveness, a part of the difficulty of obtaining information and interpretation on functioning lay elsewhere. In a sense, interviewees were being asked to identify and comment on aspects of a process of which they were a part - a process that itself illustrated that there were different levels of

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awareness about ethnicity and associational behaviour. Many of the interviewees simply were unable to locate their associations functioning in the context presumed by the study, and it is clear that they should not necessarily have been expected to. In a way many of the participants were too close to events and to routine demands of their own associations to place their own associations structure and function within a large field. The exceptions to this were those associations identified as pursuing an ethnic group style of behaviour, and located at the centre of a bargaining process over group identity. Of these, Albert Villa and CCE were generally keen to explore these issues, whereas Inkworks, as conscious as the others of these processes, because of that, chose not to participate.

Although it has been noted elsewhere that white interviewers may elicit more conservative responses from black respondents in terms of descriptions of their own feelings and beliefs (Williams 1968), it is the question of a shared framework that is most relevant.

It is suggested here that not only was the establishment of a shared framework hindered by the fact that these interviews were examples of black-white interaction (Nobles 1973), but that the meaning of described and observed phenomena could not be adequately conveyed because of the absence of a shared framework.

Brenner (1978: 135) suggests that in an interview situation, "... responses, irrespective of their research value, appear as orderly acts in the stream of interaction that makes up the interview in desirable and undesirable ways. In this sense, the semantic value of a response is bound to its status as an act of rule expression which itself is tied to the structural conditions of interaction inherent in interviewing encounters." While an adequate enough description of the actual mechanics of the interview, this description does not allow for an adequate appreciation



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of the context in which such interaction takes place. As mentioned, an important contextual feature is a shared framework in which for example, in this context, 'ethnicity', 'political behaviour', 'identity' had a common meaning such that respondents could interpret their association's behaviour rather than simply describe it.

In a situation where there is a pressure on having respondents produce analytical as well as descriptive material, then there is a danger of exerting an influence or bias on respondents by framing questions and exploring issues derived from the conceptual framework adopted. Deutsch's (1972: 375) prescription that "the interviewer must be an inert agent who exerts no influence on response by tone, expression, stance or statement" is difficult to maintain under these conditions.

Because of the potential for contamination of the interviews and because interviews yielded descriptive data on association structure rather than analytical data on functioning additional methods of data collection were used.

The second method employed to determine the nature of the routine functioning of these associations was to observe the associations in public contexts, such as the NCGSA's St Pauls Community Workers Group; the CCE's opportunity conferences; the Inkworks cultural events; and as a member of the Bristol Council for Racial Equality to observe their functioning in relation to other ethnic associations.

As will be evident from the account of the structure and functioning of these associations given in chapters three and four, most of the contexts in which it was anticipated that 'routine' behaviour would be observed were in fact contexts which provided the opportunity for episodic behaviour and issue orientated activity. The only 'routine' behaviour that the associations would have engaged in would have been their own internal meetings and situations in which they were not representing a position

or formulating specific responses. This however, is an artificial division between what is episodic and what is routine, as it has been argued in this study, for many of the associations, episodic behaviour is in fact routine, in the sense that it allows for the creation and maintenance of legitimacy which is then routinised through these episodes and issues being accepted as epitomizing the stance of the association.

At an early stage in the study, as noted in chapter four, an attempt was made to assess the role in welfare of a number of the associations, by monitoring the black self referrals to the Avon Social Services for a ten week period, and interviewing the thirty-five clients identified. This was done to assess the role of the associations in meeting welfare needs and measuring the extent to which they provided an alternative welfare service to the local authority, as a way of affirming their distinctiveness, gaining in constituent credibility and using welfare cases to create demands for better resourcing of ethnic communities.

Few of these clients had contact with ethnic associations specifically in their 'sub contracted welfare' functions, but the exercise was useful in clarifying the role that 'client perceptions' play in determining which agency - ethnic association or state service, they will refer to. It yielded some information on the routine functioning of associations in the area of welfare, but this was limited. What it did however, was to confirm that in this sample at least, West Indian clients' problems were generated by their housing situation and by the child care requirements generated by patterns of employment of West Indian women.

Thus, for the reasons of access noted and reasons due to the way episodic, issue related behaviour relates to the routine functioning of associations, there was a limited amount of observation of routine functioning.

Episodic behaviour was more accessible to monitoring, primarily

because it was more public. Observation on these aspects of associational behaviour was enhanced by a higher level of 'formal' access to the associations. For example, engagement by the Council of Churches as a consultant on the 'St Pauls Project', the study designed to measure associations' perceptions of community need and how St Barnabas may be developed as a response to these needs generated access to information on this issue.

Similarly, providing consultation for NCGSA on development of their racism awareness training programme ensured access to the 'community consultation meeting' and information on the way that association's functioning in relation to education was determined.

Becker (1958) has suggested that participant observation is a particularly useful method of data collection when the focus of attention is an organisation, but as with the interview method used, this method was also problematic, particularly with reference to the potential for intervention and in attempting to maintain an active observer stance while not acting in such a way as to influence the events being observed.

Gill (1977) has noted the difficulty of maintaining a detached observer role when confronted with, for example, young people involved in 'problematic' behaviour. In doing so, he echoes Polsky's (1971: 115) concern that, "field study of adult criminals requires among other things, giving up, indeed carefully avoiding any and every kind of social work orientation." Polsky refers here to the desire to intervene, in this case, with a rehabilitative motive, in the affairs of 'criminals'. This is an important point, and one that was particularly pertinent to this study where the basis for the legitimacy of having an observer role was precisely because the observer was deemed to have something to offer, in some of the matters of concern to the associations under study, such as welfare service delivery in ethnic communities.

Bogdan and Taylor (1975) confront the 'tension to intervene' as

Gill (1977) calls it when they note that one of the problems of researching areas in which the researcher has expertise, is a tendency not simply to observe and record behaviour but to evaluate it as well. They rightly note also (1975: 51) that conflict settings are useful to observe in that "conflict results in new perspectives, new procedures, and new coalitions. To see the dynamics of their creation is a significant research experience that often yeilds rich data and deep understanding."

It was precisely at a point of conflict - over the use of the St Barnabas site, however, that organisations with an interest in the outcome turned to outside 'experts' who were expected to evaluate the situation at the very least, and preferably to determine an appropriate form of intervention, as in the case of the Diocese of Bristol, in the above example.

Crano and Brewer (1973) suggest that participant observation is a process where an observer "accepted as a legitmate member of a group, uses this priveleged status to gather information about the group", and while this may be so, under the conditions of this study, the basis of the legitimacy of group membership or at the least, the legitimacy of the entree into the situation to be observed (i.e. the possibility of making an intervention) carried with it the seeds of undermining the legitimacy of participant observation as a research tool.

There is therefore an important question raised by this study as to the permissible level and the permissible content of the participant part of the participant observer role, an issue not confronted by Denzin (1970) for example, in his discussion of observer roles in social research.

This is also an issue that is not covered, either in critiques of methodology, which compare for example, interviewing and participant observation as methods of data collection (for example Becker and Geer 1972) or as an aspect of the ethical problems involved in participant observation

(Bulmer 1982). Becker and Geer (1972: 102) acknowledge that "... the observer participates in the daily life of the people under study, either openly in the role of researcher or covertly in some disguised role..." and Bulmer (1982: 5) notes that in covert participant observation "the real identity of the observer as a social researcher remains secret and entirely unknown to those with whom he is in contact."

In conducting this study however, the researcher was in neither an overt nor a covert research role entirely, as previously noted.

In this sort of situation there is a possibility of manipulating the ambiguity so that in playing on the legitimate 'participant' side of the contact, it is possible to enhance the 'observer' side in a way that would not be possible, if the role was not ambiguous, and if the type of participation was limited by the researcher having less credibility or legitimacy - resulting in less of a participant role.

In the capacity of consultant on some aspects of functioning, to a number of these associations and to the St Pauls Research Project and representing a professional interest in ethnic relevant social work practice, as consultant to Avon Social Services Department and Avon Probation and After Care Service, and in the area of access to higher education for ethnic minority students, information was made available which might not otherwise have been available. While the ethics of data collection while in a non research position were borne in mind, such that information requests for this study were not confused with information requests for other purposes by the associations, inevitably there must have occurred some leakage from one area to the other. Material obtained in a non research capacity therefore has been excluded where recognised, but the interpretations and the analyses developed in the course of the study must be colored to some extent by being able to locate associational behaviour in a broader context of political behaviour than might otherwise

be the case.

Other aspects of the access issue were important in limiting the scope and effectiveness of the study, and these will be briefly commented on.

There are no Sikh associations represented in this study, although three Sikh associations existed in Bristol for the period of time over which the study took place. The associations were unable to be included in the analysis of associations although attempts were made to incorporate them into the study. The main problem of access was that of language, and while it is acknowledged that the interviews carried out as part of the study yielded fairly low grade data on association functioning but were a reasonable method of gathering data on the structure of associations, even this was not the case with the Sikh associations. An important aspect of these associations were that there were three of them, corresponding to family divisions within the Sikh community and resulting from conflict between these groups. This was not an aspect of their structuring that the groups wished to discuss, even though an interpreter was used in conducting the interviews. Although it was recognised that there are problems involved in having a third person mediating between the interviewer and the respondent (Baker and Briggs 1975) it was not anticipated that such a degree of difficulty would be encountered as to necessitate leaving out the material on Sikh associations altogether.

Given the involvement of Sikh youth in militant political action described elsewhere (Peggie 1979), and the tensions between the Sikhs Akali Dal party and the Congress (I) Party, especially since the 1980 elections in the Punjab and indeed, the competing factions within the Akalis (Richardson 1982), the fact that Sikh associations are unrepresented in this study as a real loss and seriously thins out any analysis possible of Asian associational behaviour as political behaviour.

An additional factor which highlights access difficulties involved the Inkworks, and illustrates some of the dilemmas of undertaking research of this sort, as well as clarifying some of the strategic thinking of a particular association.

As has been noted (pp. 144-146) when the Inkworks was prosecuted by the Environmental Health Department, they had to make a strategic choice as to whether to confront the issue by attempting reconciliation with the white neighbors with whom they were in conflict or by maximising the event's conflict potential, and in so doing to emphasise the distinctiveness and separateness of the association and its membership from the white community, and from 'moderate' West Indian associations.

Although this association did not wish to take part in this study, at the point of facing prosecution, they requested that the researcher undertake a community survey on their behalf, in order to appear in court as an 'expert witness' to attest to the value of the organisation in enhancing black identity, and meeting demonstrated educational and cultural needs in the West Indian community.

A further aspect to be covered in the survey was delineated by a minority of more militant Rastafarian management committee members who expected the survey to include interviews with the white residents who would appear for the prosecution, and that these interviews would demonstrate that the residents were acting from racist motives in bringing this action.

A survey report was delivered to the management committee which suggested that while there was some fear and lack of understanding of the purpose of the centre, shown by white residents, there was no evidence of overt racism, except in the case of one resident who was mentally ill and delusional, and who would not have been a credible witness in any event.

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This report was rejected by that part of the committee who had expected

evidence of racism to be confirmed, and as the tactic of maximising the incident's conflict value was adopted by the committee as a whole, it was decided not to use the researcher as a witness.

Observing this episode and how it resulted in a significant declaration of intent by this association would ordinarily have been denied to the researcher, and it neatly illustrates the issue of being in a position to observe associational behaviour, and doing so from a basis of legitimacy unconnected with the research task. Although the researchers participation in this episode was agreed to if the information could be used for the study, it does raise the question of the ethics of ambiguous participation, if not actually covert participation.

A further factor which determined the type of data collected, needing comment, is the issue of the time span over which the study took place.

In retrospect, a low level monitoring of associational behaviour over a five year period has led to the collection of data which is in a sense too thin to answer the questions posed in chapter two with a high degree of confidence. Examining changes in associational behaviour and by assuming that these changes were in some cases reflective of fundamental changes in the self perception of these communities in which the associations were located, and working back to understand the nature of those communities proved an unnecessarily cumbersome approach. That this cumbersomeness was generated partly by the task set, in terms of measuring the viability of a particular conceptual approach to understanding intergroup relations, is commented on below, but at this point, it is worth noting the differences that may have resulted by use of different methods of data collection.

Had the study taken place for a full time period of 12-18 months, one method of data collection that would have been employed would have been to interview a random sample of residents of the five wards containing over 60 per cent of the Bristol's West Indian and Asian population. These

interviews would have measured the perception that these members of the black population had of the associations and their functioning. While some aspects of this were covered in the follow up study of the black clients who had used the social services area office, this was too closely tied to the respondent's direct experience of one facet of association's behaviour (welfare) rather than constituting a broad appreciation of those association's functioning.

A further series of interviews could have been undertaken with black residents in wards where the black population was less densely concentrated, in order to determine the extent to which these respondents operated with a framework in which 'ethnicity' was a salient feature and if so, the extent to which this was a different view of ethnicity from those respondents living in a closer relationship to other blacks and in a situation where ethnic interest was often expressed in urban planning and resource terms.

With a study period of five years, changes in the perception of the associations would have had to be monitored at least annually - a difficult task if the sample used were to be large enough for reliable analysis.

Thus far, factors affecting the conduct of the study have been identified, such as access issues and the time scale over which the study took place. A third factor which needs to be noted relates to the formulation of the research task itself in that it was a study of the usefulness of a particular approach to understanding intergroup relations, rather than a study of the political behaviour of black communities, for example.

Using Dumont and Wilson's (1967) terminology derived from their discussion of concept formation in sociology, 'ethnogenesis' appears to be best characterised not as a theory of group behaviour, but a 'theory sketch'. For them, a theory sketch consists of a more or less vague indication of the laws and initial conditions considered as relevant, which needs filling out in order to turn it into a fully fledged explanation.

This filling out results from further empirical research, for which the sketch suggests a direction.

They point out that the difficulty with research based on theory sketches is that the concepts used are often ambiguous, and if the function of an operational definition is to specify the characteristics of an analytical concept, as Blau (1962) suggests, then it seems that we are able to identify the basis of the difficulty of operationalising the concept of ethnogenesis.

If a theoretical definition gives us meaning, and an operational definition gives us measurement, as Hage (1972) suggests, then the problem with 'ethnogenesis' is that there exists no operational definition that indicates how we measure whether the process of ethnic group formation that it describes has taken place. The fundamental difficulty is that as formulated by Singer (1962) and subsequently used (Goldstein 1975, Killian 1975, Banton 1977, Wan 1979, Taylor 1979) indexes are constructed which can mark the existence of the process - such as boundary changes, but there is no indication as to how to quantify these changes in such a way as to be able to say, "Enough change has occurred at the interface of category/majority group boundaries as to suggest that 'ethnogenesis' has occurred."

The operational definition is not therefore ambiguous, but fundamentally weak and involves a concept that does not readily lend itself to testing by case analysis (Kidder 1981) as attempted here.

A final factor affecting the conduct of this study lay in the difficult area of the influence of the prior experience of the researcher, on task formulation, data collection, and analysis. The primary effect of experience of community organising and social planning in urban Aboriginal communities and in both community work and social work roles in ethnic communities in Bristol, where a major focus was liaison with ethnic associations

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(prior to the commencement of the study) was to engender a sense of frustration with the apparent over simplification of much of the literature, especially that concerned with the structure and function of ethnic associations.

One example concerns the virtual absence in the literature of any discussion of the influence of 'personality' of key decision makers in organisations, on both the construction of an organisational philosophy and on the determination of programs while there are hints in some of the literature on leadership (Patterson 1965, Kamath 1971, Manderson-Jones 1971, Martin 1972) that personality factors may be important, this is framed in general terms which speaks of a group type - 'West Indian leaders are...'; 'Asian leaders tend to be...'.

Although the importance of personality characteristics on political behaviour, especially behaviour in organisations has been noted elsewhere (Jackson 1974, Davies 1975, 1980) it is an area only lightly touched on in some of the literature on the practice of working with ethnic associations (Rothman 1971, Matheson 1974, Lambat 1980) and not covered at all by other (Ensor, Lambat and Scott 1982, Rivera and Erlich 1981) accounts of practice issues.

The researcher's own experience suggested however, that personality factors were very important in determining the functioning of ethnic associations. From both a fear of the 'reductionist' element in the recognition of this factor, and a lack of confidence in treating as legitimate personal experience, the insights offered by prior experience were not used to refine the observations made in the literature, and develop themes such as the entrepreneurial style of much 'subcontracted welfare work'.

It is clear that this personal experience had an influence on the approach to the task. In a sense the choice of somewhat restrictive theoretical framework may have been made partly to impose a stricter boundary around the data, perceptions and analysis, to lessen the effects

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It is clear that this personal experience had an influence on the approach to the task. In a sense the choice of somewhat restrictive theoretical framework may have been made partly to impose a stricter boundary around the data, perceptions and analysis, to lessen the effects

of 'contamination' and bias from this experience, rather than using it in a more consciously positive way to enhance the formulation of the propositions and aid in the analysis.

Overall this study confirmed that a process of change was in fact occurring but no conclusions were offered as to whether the process had occurred; that is whether the process of ethnogenesis was complete for the particular 'detached population segment' in Singers terms which was pursuing this process. This aspect of operationalising the concept still needs to be clarified perhaps by some progressive testing of majority and minority group perceptions of the minorities group identity, and by reference to the behaviour of the minority collectivity. This study suggests with qualifications, that there appear to be differences between the behaviour of ethnic associations that correspond to the differences between ethnic categories and ethnic groups. If ethnic group type behaviour can be clarified precisely over a wide range of areas, then the behaviour of collectivities could be measured against this, in areas other than just associational behaviour, such that it could be concluded that if the behaviour of a collectivity approximated the behaviour of a group over a particular range of issues, then the process of ethnogenesis may be confirmed as having occurred.

On the evidence of this study, associations however appear to be a key area in which to measure this process, as they are clearly located at the interface of majority/minority relations, and at an actual and at a symbolic level they act as buffers between the two collectivities, and are placed at the sharper end of the identity bargaining process. The sharper end, because the affirmation of ethnic distinctiveness, has been shown in this study, to carry with it not only implications for the majority group losing the power to define essential aspects of the minorities identity, but implications for the political question of resource distribution



as well.

This question of identity it has been suggested, in this study, is crucial to understanding the identity bargaining process firstly, and also the structuring of ethnic affiliation, particularly as this relates to affiliation to ethnic associations, as a public expression identification. As it has also been suggested that identities are self-social constructs, involving both external determinants and subjective perceptions, then those models of ethnic community and associational behaviour that placed identity at the centre of discussions of interaction processes, were drawn on most heavily.

While this proved useful to a large extent, an obvious limitation of an interactionist approach became evident. The problem basically is that if we assume that a certain condition (enhanced identity) is the result of a process of interaction between the two collectivities, in focusing on only one aspect of interaction - the relationship between statutory authorities and ethnic associations, then other factors contributing to the creation of the condition under observation are not adequately accounted for.

The present study gives an indication of how interaction processes work at one level, but it is recognised that there are many factors not taken account of, and that there are modes other than publicly political ones in which identity conflicts may be expressed.

Ethnic distinctiveness may be measured in other ways, which may be as relevant to the level of interaction they represent as are the political processes to the level of concern here. For example when the study started in 1976, the Horley Road Community Centre located at the edges of the main areas of concentration of West Indians and of Asians, was a multi-racial centre showing a high degree of ethnic mixture - Asians, West Indians, whites, in the various activities. The most thoroughly

'mixed' activity was the Tae Kwon Do Karate Club. By the end of the period of study however, this club was almost entirely Asian in membership, the whites having gone to a commercial club in the area and the West Indians going either to a West Indian dominated club or the Inkworks whose all black Kung Fu club had produced in its instructor, the European full contact champion.

This may appear rather esoteric, but for the unemployed youth who spend much of the day in sports clubs in the area, engaged in body building and martial arts and boxing training, the fact that there is a locally based European champion, from an all black club is as important for their identity development as is the tough negotiation at a different level pursued by the Inkworks and Albert Villa over St Barnabas for example.

A more complete analysis of the process of ethnic group formation ought therefore to include coverage of sporting and cultural modes of affirming ethnic distinctiveness.

The other, and related problem with using an interactionist approach, is that not only is the field of interaction so large, that an attempt to limit observation to one aspect - the political for example, must be at the neglect of other potentially valuable areas, but there is an assumption that the interaction is more direct than in practice it appears to be.

Katznelson (1976) and Pearson (1977) for example, rightly note the buffer function of ethnic associations, acting at intermediate points of contact between ethnic communities and the state, but the process of interaction is more complex, with the Bristol Council for Racial Equality acting itself as a tension management agent between competing ethnic interests, and acting as a representative of statutory authorities and their interests, but also acting as an intermediary on behalf of ethnic associations and communities with the local authority, employer organisations and other official bodies. It is in the peculiar position of having

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represented on it, those very departments and organisations that it makes representation to.

The importance of the BCRE occupying this intermediary position, in terms of understanding interaction processes, especially where these contribute to the defining and articulation of ethnic interest, has been illustrated by reference to the way associations conceived of education as an area of ethnic interest. While it had the potential to be an issue which united all of the ethnic associations, it has been argued that distinct 'Asian' and 'West Indian' issues were pursued, and that potentially unifying issues, such as discrimination, racist teaching and materials and racist attitudes by teachers were left to the BCRE Community Relations Officer (Education) to both identify and mobilise associations on.

The role of the BCRE then, in formulating issues and providing associations, via the Council with a forum for the expression of ethnic interest, could have been given greater attention in this study, but in order for its inclusion in more detail to be of best use, it would demand a very high level of knowledge of the functioning of the individual associations.<sup>(12)</sup> It would be useful to compare associations stances on particular issues in contexts where they act independently and where they act as part of a larger group such as the council, and determine the role that the council officers play in these matters.

The final problem revealed by the study, in using an interactionist framework, is that although the distinction is often made in the literature between the reactive and proactive behaviour of ethnic associations, whether fundamentally they are either of these things - there is no evidence from this study to conclude on this. This is however, because of the nature of this distinction. It is difficult to clarify in practice what reactive or proactive behaviour, under conditions where the influence of external agencies is not always clear.

As with this study, a particular field of study or system is identified, but the influences on behaviour within that system may simply be outside the system under study and when attempts to explain associational behaviour only by reference to the immediate system under study is made, then an unwarranted simplification of analysis may occur. Unless this concern with whether ethnic associations are reactive or proactive can be operationalised better than the literature suggests that it can, then it may be worth asking how useful such a distinction is. There is no sense in which behaviour is other than reactive - the only question is the nature of the stimulus. This concern, when applied to ethnic associations seems to be a way of determining if there are self generating rather than externally generating movements within ethnic communities, such as the attempt to affirm ethnic distinctiveness. This study has shown however, that no such distinction between 'self' and 'other' ought to be made - that we need to consider instead the nature of the interaction between them.

One of the most important issues concerning the research task involved in this study, is that of how to undertake research on a process, which by definition is a changing entity in which at best indications of trends and tendencies can be noted, but which it is difficult to draw conclusions about. The single best example of these difficulties is that of April 2nd 1980 'disturbances'.

While these events have been amply documented in journalistic accounts and the consequences of them examined in terms of their implications for local authority response (Jackson 1980); the implications for race relations generally (Rex 1980) and the implications for race relations in Bristol (Stephen 1980), they will be noted briefly here, firstly to illustrate this point about the study of processes, and secondly to examine the associational response. The importance of the disturbances resides in the fact that it lead directly to a different perception that young blacks

had about themselves, and to a different perception of the West Indian community by the statutory agencies. It also lead directly, to different forms of interaction between these agencies and the ethnic associations. This ranged from the establishment of the Avon/Bristol/BCRE joint working parties, to different methods of policing being employed in the St Pauls area and to the establishing of a police liaison committee, and to the provision of funding which was not part of the normal urban aid scheme or other funding programmes, which when applied to St Barnabas in particular, led directly to high levels of inter ethnic conflict.

#### Disturbances of April 2nd 1980

As mentioned, a variety of journalistic accounts are available of the April 2nd incidents, and this brief account is largely based on the Secretary of State's memorandum of 28th April 1980 with additional information from interviews and personal observation.

In the afternoon of April 2nd, plain clothes and uniformed officers from the division covering St Pauls, attempted to execute warrants which had been granted under the Licensing act and the Misuse of Drugs act, at the Black and White cafe located Grosvenor Road in the centre of St Pauls.

During the course of confiscating a quantity of alcohol which was presumed to be for sale in the non licensed cafe, a crowd gathered outside, and along with the fifteen to twenty customers who were ordered out, attempted to stop the police removing cartons of beer. Although the cafe had been raided on previous occasions, this raid was different in a number of respects. It had been the practice, a former member of the drug squad informed the author, for the proprietor to be given some warning of an impending raid and on these occasions to have some 'evidence' available which could be confiscated, which action usually resulted in a small fine. This was usually carried out by two or three non-uniformed officers.

On the 2nd April however, twenty officers were involved in the serving

of warrants and property search, those in the cafe under the command of a Superintendent; those controlling traffic outside commanded by an Inspector. In addition, two dog handlers with dogs trained to search for drugs were deployed in the area, to stay out of sight unless needed.

Although the crowd, mainly of school age children gathered outside were noisy, there was no attempt to intervene until a customer who had clothing torn in the search demanded immediate compensation which was denied. At that point a number of the customers attempted to stop the police leaving and loading the confiscated 'evidence'. A vehicle was destroyed by the crowd and the police officers trapped in the cafe.

Police reinforcements numbering between twenty and fifty were called to rescue those trapped in the cafe and after doing this they withdrew. By 5.15 pm, one and half hours after the beginning of the police action, the situation was serious enough to warrant the presence of the Chief Constable who was directing operations. At this time an attempt was made to remove the burnt out police car, but as more vehicles arrived with reinforcements these were also attacked as were the officers. By 7.30 pm of the fifty officers said to be present by the Chief Constable, twenty-two had been seriously injured, twenty-seven had minor injuries, twenty-one vehicles were severely damaged with six burned and destroyed. Ten members of the public had been injured also.

At this point, a bank was broken into and set on fire, although it has been alleged that this fire was set by a film crew anxious for 'dramatic footage', and under increasing pressure, the police withdrew from the area at 7.30 pm not to return until 11.30 pm by which time twenty-one shops had been damaged mostly by fire, with property stolen from thirteen of them. No commercial premises known to be owned by Asians or to employ West Indians were destroyed, as these were protected by older groups of residents. Order was restored by 1.00 am by which time six hundred and

nine police officers had been deployed from the Avon and Somerset force, reinforced by officers from Wiltshire, Gloucestershire, Devon and Cornwall. By Friday 4th April, forty-four officers were still patrolling one square mile of St Pauls. This force was reduced to a Sergeant and eight constables by Saturday 5th April. There was a total of one hundred and thirty-two arrests for offences arising directly out of the disturbance, such as assaulting police, damage to property, arson and theft.

The lessons that the police drew from the event were mainly, that the police were poorly equipped to deal with violence on the scale that had occurred and that the timing of the raid was ill advised, as it was the first warm day of Spring and school had closed early for the half term holiday thus allowing for large numbers of young people to be on the streets at the time of the raid. Thus, the police response was to call for more resources to cover the cost of permanently locating a store of riot equipment at Trinity Road Police Station, the Headquarters of the Division covering St Pauls, and also to accelerate plans for a community policing approach.

The response from the West Indian community was mainly articulated by BCRC who on April 3rd held an emergency executive committee at which they agreed to the following recommendations:

1. To provide immediate cash support to the St Pauls Advice Centre (Albert Villa), located in Grosvenor Road, to assist with the legal defence for those persons being detained and charged with rioting.
2. Arrange an immediate meeting with the Chief Constable and the Chairpersons of Bristol District Council and Avon County Council.

Having established the Defence Fund, to be administered by a Defence Committee located at Albert Villa, and coordinated by staff from Albert Villa and Inkworks, the BCRC executive turned their attention to the background causes of the disturbances, and felt that the underlying reasons would not be made clear to the local authority unless an independent



public enquiry was held. This became the major issue in their response to the disturbance.

In a letter (14th April 1980) to the Home Secretary, BCRE urged that a public enquiry "conducted by a tribunal consisting of at least one member of the black community and headed by a person of eminent judicial or academic standing is necessary:

- a) to establish the true facts of the incident itself and to restore public confidence amongst the community at large in the Avon and Somerset Constabulary.
- b) to analyse the undoubted mistrust which exists between police and ethnic minority communities and to make recommendations as to how these relations can be improved.
- c) to enable an independent assessment to be made of the deeper social problems underlying the outburst of civil unrest and to make recommendations as to their solution.

Following the passing of this resolution, the associations most closely involved with the participants in the disturbance, because many of them were members or users - Albert Villa and Inkworks, pressed for action to be taken on two fronts - working for an amnesty for those charged and campaigning against the decision of the Home Affairs Select Committee on Racial Disadvantage to hold an enquiry into the disturbance, as this would defuse demands for an independent public enquiry.

On the first issue the BCRE resolved at a meeting on 16th April 1980, "that this council deplores the nature of the Police action in raiding the Black and White cafe on Wednesday 2nd April 1980, which led the Black community to stand up against this type of police intimidation. This Council will support the black community in demanding that all charges arising out of that police action be dropped and that the police cease making any further arrests or enquiries related to that incident, as this is yet another attempt to criminalise the black community. And further, this Council realises that this is the only course of action which would satisfy the black community if we are to seriously consider improving

race relations."

On the second issue, the BCRE in early May suggested that associations affiliated with the BCRE may wish to offer written evidence to the Select Committee, but in a letter from the Community Relations Officer (employment) to the Clerk of the Committee (15th May 1980) it was noted that the Council had agreed that its officers and affiliated associations would boycott the hearings to be held on the 23rd May. The main reasons given were that there was insufficient time for preparation; that it was an inadequate response to the situation; and that there was a lack of clarity over procedure.

At this time, other organisations were mobilising around the issue of the disturbances, and the need for a public enquiry. At a meeting on 17th April, the Bristol Trades Union Council passed a motion that "this BTUC insists that there is a need for a full and open public enquiry into the incidents in St Pauls on Wednesday 2nd April, and into relations between youth and police in other parts of Bristol, at which all interested parties can produce evidence and call upon the executive to explore the possibility of the BTUC arranging such an enquiry."

Following this BTUC meeting, representatives of ethnic associations were invited to a meeting in July with the BTUC executive to discuss a BTUC sponsored public enquiry. At the same time however, in an undated letter from the Secretary of the St Pauls Labor Party to the Bristol Resource Centre, it was noted that a 'Labor and Trade Union St Pauls Defence Campaign' had been established "to campaign in conjunction with Black and Asian groups in St Pauls, for an independent Labor and Trade Union Enquiry into the cause of the event of April 2nd 1980 in St Pauls and the subsequent arrests and harrassment of the local community."

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Not all members of the Trades Council or local Labor Party branches supported the level of involvement, and relevance of such involvement was questioned at a meeting on 15th May 1980 of the Ashley and St Pauls

Labor Parties. A member commented, "whether there will or will not be an escalation in violence in St Pauls will not be influenced by this meeting of cranks, well intentioned do-gooders and weaklings. It will not be influenced in any way by this event; for the actors who will take part in the drama that is to unfold were not in the room or anywhere near the meeting."

The support for a boycott of the Select Committee hearing in favour of a Public Enquiry became the issue that white political groups became involved with primarily. The National Union of Public Employees, 'Bristol Community Workers and Voluntary Organisations Branch' supported the BCRE stand in a letter of 7th May, while the Bristol Resource Centre vigorously campaigned for a public enquiry.

The Select Committee hearing was boycotted with only a few individual West Indians giving evidence and a small number of small conservative associations giving evidence, along with City and County officials. Many of the associations boycotting the Select Committee hearing gave evidence to the Public Enquiry organised by the BTUC, although no local authority representatives or police representative gave evidence at this enquiry.

The St Pauls Defence Committee raised funds for court costs and campaigned strongly for charges to be dropped, especially the charges of riotous assembly laid against twelve West Indians. Almost one year after the original incidents, all twelve of those charged were cleared, when after eight had been found not guilty, the Crown Court judge hearing the case discharged the jury and abandoned the trial. Costs were estimated at  $\frac{1}{4}$  million pounds, about half of the estimated cost of property damage during the disturbance.

One of the interesting points about the activities of various organisations, around the April 2nd issue, was that at no time did it actually constitute a collaborative approach by whites and members of an

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ethnic community, although it had the appearance of collaboration.

The St Pauls Defence Committee was concerned with the immediate issue of coordinating funds and legal aid for those charged with riotous assembly and for the hundreds of others charged with lesser offences. As part of this concern amnesty became an important lobbying issue. For the white groups, mainly Labor Party and Trade Union branches, acting separately and on the BTUC, the issue of a public enquiry was the main focus of activity. The only forum where both issues were pursued simultaneously was in the BCRE, but as was argued earlier when discussing their role amongst the ethnic associations, they were articulating a position which was at a different level of interest, to that expressed by individual associations who were represented on the BCRE.

The disturbance had the effect as mentioned, of providing greater access for the associations to the local authority, and enabled what a number of associations considered to be the underlying causes of the disturbance - the irrelevant education; unemployment and poor resourcing of the area, to be discussed in a more formal and public way than had previously been possible.

The negative effects were mainly in the area of police/youth relations, and the damage done to the perception of the courts in particular and the criminal justice system in general by such severe and unusual charges as riotous assembly being brought and then dismissed.

Without April 2nd, St Barnabas would still have been an issue of community resourcing, education and unemployment would still have been issues, but they were being argued now in a different context. The dialogue between ethnic associations and the authorities was made public in a way that it had not previously been, and the local authority were quick to press the case for the City and County to obtain extra finance from Central Government, making a case from the disturbance and from the fact that

Bristol was not part of the Inner Cities Partnership scheme.

The event was crucial however, in enabling Albert Villa and Inkworks in particular, to demonstrate their relevance and enhance their legitimacy amongst their particular constituency and the choice of issue - defence fund, legal aid, and amnesty, over the public enquiry enhanced this still further, as it was seen as actually doing something in a situation where everyone knew what the problems were. While many of the associations in St Pauls including interestingly, conservative Asian associations such as the Sanatan Deeva Mandal, had used the media interest generated by the incident to express prophesies or fears of increased militancy unless ethnic communities were better resourced, this did not necessarily reflect a growing radicalism amongst these groups. With the possibility of unexpected central government funding, these associations' opportunism was simply that, and did not represent a radicalisation based on a different analysis of their situation. The incident therefore did not lead to a radicalisation of ethnic associations, but it led directly to the formation of an association; the only new association to be formed as a direct result of the incident, other than the Defence Committee. This association was Progress or Progressive Youth Enterprise and tended to have as members, younger members of the West Indian community, and some contacts with Inkworks in that PYE members often had older brothers who were Inkworks members. The leader of the Ekome Dance Troup based at the Inkworks was also an important member of this new association. The primary reason for this association being formed was to enable the participants to learn organisational skills, fund raising skills and to identify potential 'community leaders' who would be encouraged to realise their interest in these matters by undertaking tertiary education in welfare field in particular.

This Bristol group was a 'local' branch of a London based organisation with branches in Birmingham, Reading, Manchester, London, Slough, Liverpool

and Luton, and which described itself (minutes, 21st April 1980) as a 'voluntary self help youth organisation with young people having leadership and administrative responsibilities and decision making powers'. The first meeting of the 'unit' on 19th April 1980 concerned itself with identifying necessary facilities such as the need for a drop-in centre providing leisure facilities and 'proper welfare help'. Subsequent meetings were concerned with the feasibility of obtaining premises and with clarifying the role of the association in relation to other associations, and a stance worked out on support for a public enquiry into the April 2nd events.

Access to the association was unable to be obtained past June 1980, by which time many members were impatient with wishing to develop programs but being unable to go ahead because of lack of suitable premises.

The main lesson for this study, from the 'disturbances' is in the fact that had the study concluded at the beginning of 1980 instead of the beginning of 1981, then the resultant interpretation of associational structure and function would have had to be based on small instances of activity which may have had a more 'routine' flavor to them. A large proportion of the most significant activity noted in this study took place in the year 1980 to 1981, and was clearly of a different quality to much of the activity that preceded the event. In a sense, the event changed the whole political climate in which both the associations and the authorities functioned, and had far-reaching effects, although these effects were more of the order of accelerating or reinforcing existing action and tendencies rather than creating fundamental shifts in perspective. This is confirmed to some extent by the fact that the only new association to emerge as a result of the disturbance was a non-radical, welfare orientated organisation, and not a radical political association of a 'self defence' kind which may have been expected to be the case.



Overall, the disturbances illustrate many of the points made about the role of the BCRC as a buffer organisation, and the non viability during the period of study at least, of genuine collaborative action between blacks and whites, just as it has been argued that there is little evidence for the viability of a black unity approach. The difficulty of saying exactly what the effects were on associations behaviour, perceptions of themselves, perceptions of the authorities and the climate generated by these perceptions is evident, and any attempt to relate cause and effect in discussing the role of the disturbances leads to general statements only, and illustrates well the actual complexity of the task involved in this study, of observing and interpreting ongoing processes.

#### Conclusion

This modest study of the structure and function of a number of ethnic associations in Bristol, has been undertaken in order to assess the usefulness of the concept of ethnogenesis in describing a process of ethnic group formation. In so doing, it has assessed the usefulness of the distinction made between ethnic categories and ethnic groups, and tested the assumption that collectivities distinguished in this way, by reference to the presence of ethnic awareness or ethnic consciousness, are also distinguishable by the type of associational behaviour characteristic of these different collectivities.

By taking as a guide, interactionist approaches to minority/majority relations, identity was specified as a crucial feature. Negotiation about the meaning of ethnic identity was suggested as the key aspect of interaction processes between ethnic categories and the majority grouping, such that externally defined and maintained identities were replaced by internally defined and regulated identities. A model of ethnic identification was presented which argued that there were distinct processes involved in translating an individual ethnic identification into a commitment to

use that identity as the basis for engaging in public behaviour, specifically group political behaviour.

Many of the propositions arising from the literature on voluntary associations, both ethnic and non ethnic were tested, and many of these were found to be deficient. The deficiency lay in two areas. Firstly, there was the inability of much of the general voluntary association literature to be translated directly to the understanding of the ethnic associations, primarily because the issue of identity did not arise in the same way for these associations, so that distinctions between instrumental and expressive associations, goals and behaviour, had meaning in general associations, but had little relevance in a context where it is unclear whether identity enhancement is an instrumental or an expressive aim.

Secondly, these general concepts did not adequately reflect the complexity of actual associational behaviour. There appeared to be a consensus for example that a conflict between a service and a political orientation was characteristic of voluntary associations. This study showed that resolution of this conflict, where it existed, may in fact be functional for associations. The role of a welfare function was specified here as being a way that associations resolve the politics/service conflict, by the provision of a welfare service that has aspects of both. Again, it was shown that it was not only possible, but a matter of strategic choice, to enhance legitimacy and credibility with the constituency, to use 'welfare' to both politicize the service aspects and to humanize the political aspects of associational functioning.

Overall, the concepts and models drawn on and assessed in the study have been demonstrated to be framed at too general a level, or to oversimplify actual conditions. There is no mention in the ethnogenesis literature on how to operationalise the concept; on how to measure whether the process is occurring or whether it has occurred.

It was suggested here that associations may be the key to understanding this process, and while that has been argued to be the case to a large extent, limitations have also become evident. The problem of scale was noted. In this study, there was a high degree of correspondence between local issues and ethnic issues, between locality and ethnicity. There were no strong examples of local branches of national organisations who operate from a non locality based perspective. There was no significant concentration of ethnic minority members in a particular area of work, and no workers associations.

The presence of these sorts of associations may have had an effect on the possibilities of the development of either a black unity approach or a collaborative approach with whites to politics. What this study can conclude however, is that without these, as in the situation in Bristol, these were not preferred options for action.

The question of using an approach that conceives of the local political system as able to accommodate finite amounts of conflict orientated behaviour would be a useful one to explore further. As an aspect of interaction that may determine the behaviour of associations, it was only able to be briefly noted in this study, but it may be more important than this study has been able to demonstrate.

The problems associated with using an interactionist prospective have been highlighted, especially the issue of how it is decided what to include in the field of analysis. The central role played by the BCRC could have been accounted for better in this study, and as a qualification of models of political buffering, the role of Councils for Racial Equality as intermediate organisations between ethnic associations and statutory authorities ought to be explored more thoroughly. Accounts of the roles of local councils, where given in the literature, talk of them as buffers between ethnic communities and the state, but the process is more complex

than that, the present study suggests. More complex, because they are both representative of specific and general ethnic interests and must function as an interethnic associational buffer as well as an ethnic community - white buffer.

Some examples of associational functioning, especially in relation to collaborative enterprises with white groups were not covered in the study which had they been, may have contributed to a more thorough understanding of the processes under examination. The involvement of ethnic associations in the Campaign Against Racist Laws would have been useful to know as this had the potential to unite all groups. Only one meeting of this group was held and this after the period of study however.

The final point to note is whether a different framework may have been more useful for assessing the processes covered in this study.

Castells (1977) and Pickvance (1975) (a), 1975, (b), 1977), starting from the proposition that "any sociological analysis must be primarily concerned with political processes" (Pickvance 1975; 1006), suggest that organisations are the wrong starting point for studies of urban social movements. They should form the locus of observation, but not the frame of analysis. As Pickvance (1975, 30) notes, "the focus of analysis is rather on the 'problems', 'issues' or 'stakes' the organisation pursues and this structural determination. It is the structural contradictions which are the crucial level of analysis, and organisations are seen as means for their expression and articulation."

It was thought at the beginning of the study that this prescription was being followed to some extent - in that associations were to be the locus of observation while the focus of analysis was on the larger 'problems' and 'issues' that the organisations pursued. It was thought that by focussing on the symbolic as well as the actual behaviour of associations, then the issues identified as crucial in the literature, particularly

those concerned with enhancing ethnic identity would be thrown into sharp relief, and the relationship between associations and their constituent communities made clear.

This was demonstrably not the case and it is clear that in attempting to measure the usefulness of the concept of ethnogenesis, and thereby tying observation to a conceptual framework of potentially limited value, much of the intensity of the politics of ethnic associations, particularly with reference to the way they articulate group concerns and use welfare or service functions in a political way, has been lost.

In addition to a restrictive conceptual framework, it has been suggested that there were problems associated with conducting the study in terms of access, time scale and the reluctance to test the literature against what the researcher 'knew' from experience. The restrictions in conceptualisation and analysis caused by the use of 'ethnogenesis' as an organising vehicle, may however, indicate the failure of a particular type of approach to the study of ethnic relations, of which the present study is an example.

A number of critiques of what has been termed the approach of the 'New Ethnicists' (Hinton 1981) has been developed (Bourne and Sivanandan 1980; Gilroy 1980; De Lepervanche 1980; Hinton 1981).

The foremost criticism is that a concern with 'ethnicity' and ethnic group relations at the expense of other modes of characterising intergroup relations, serves to mystify or deny the operation of broader social and political processes. In this way, the nature of the power relationship between the majority group and minority groups is clouded. Strategies for changing the imbalance of power (such as the power to define a minority as unacceptable) which rely on an analysis concerned with 'ethnicity' will therefore not confront the real causes of power imbalance, which lay in the differential relationship between the majority and minority to the

means of distributing economic rewards.

This criticism is succinctly put by Wolpe (1975: 238) who suggests, to treat ethnic groups as "...the salient group in society has the consequence of excluding from the analysis precisely those other structures and relations (in particular the modes of production, the class structure and class relations) which are necessary to an explanation of the nature and relationships of those groups....to base an analysis on the criteria (race, religion etc.) by which groups define themselves and the conflict between them is to take as given precisely what requires explanation."

He suggests that, "... what needs to be accounted for is why these particular groups come into existence and conflict with one another. This requires an analysis of the conditions which generate particular conflicts and which affect their nature and intensity."

Bourne and Sivanandan (1980) in developing their critique of the 'Bristol pluralist school' of ethnic studies echo Wolpe's comments, when they note that, "...cultural pluralism, the framework, and multiculturalism, the solution, deals with neither (institutional) racism nor class questions. 'Reactive ethnicity' or cultural resistance, can only be a resistance to racialism in British society. Racialism is not about power but about cultural superiority. Racism is not about cultural superiority but about power; and the resistance to racism must be in the final analysis political resistance, expressed perhaps in cultural forms."

For Gilroy (1980), the failure by Rex and Tomlinson (1979) in particular, to adequately account for the 'patterns of struggle' in the black community brings into question the utility of the New Ethnicist/pluralist approach. De Lepervanche, following Wolpe draws together the threads of this line of criticism when she comments (1980: 34) that, "... although the expression of social consciousness is (often) in a cultural (ethnic) idiom against

Anglo Saxon cultural dominance, it must be remembered that class domination and in specific relations between capital and introduced migrant labor. The upward social mobility of particular ethnic groups notwithstanding, this phenomenon of ethnicity in recent years has been an aspect of class structures and the conflicts within them. In other words, the institutionalisation of ethnicity is a response to the contradiction between the struggle of resistance by non Anglo Saxons and the incorporation of ethnic difference within the dominant Anglo Saxon culture."

The other main line of criticism of the approach used in this study, is what Hinton (1980: 16) terms the 'psychologistic assertion' of the binding power of human habit - his characterisation of the view of ethnicity reviewed earlier that conceives of ethnic identity not as strategic choice but as primordial attachment. The frustration with this characteristic of the approach is clearly evident in De Lepervanches (1980: 30) comment that, "... once we introduce searches for self and identity it is open season and ethnicity can be almost anything you care to name... Indeed all that was previously categorised as linguistic, tribal, cultural and religious differences is now ethnicity."

She ties together both these lines of criticism when, having noted that humans consciously distinguish themselves by reference to religion, language, history etc. she concludes (1980: 32) that, "All these cultural practices provide symbolic or rhetorical devices for conceiving identity, asserting consciousness of it for pursuing common interests, or for excluding others from social combinations. To label all these cultural practices 'ethnicity', and then use this 'variable' as an explanatory concept is to link historically disparate phenomena."

While the main thrust of these criticism, mainly that a concern with concepts such as ethnogenesis is basically to impose an unnecessarily restrictive framework for understanding intergroup relations has been

borne out by this study to a large degree, there remains the issue of how, even to use Castell's and Pickvance's broader framework, the study of social movements, and inter alia associations, can be made.

Crucially, while these critiques suggest that minority group behaviour needs to be understood in a different sort of framework that can suggest why ethnic identity as a mode of collective consciousness becomes salient under particular conditions, these give little lead as to how to study the social, particularly the political, behaviour of people.

Rex acknowledges this factor, and incidentally confirms one of the findings of this study, where ethnic issues were identified strongly with environmental issues, when he notes of inner urban Black British (1982: 111) that at "the level of subjective consciousness...this underclass (is) more solidly based in parts of the cities than it was in industry..."

More precisely, he confronts the problem of how to conceive of ethnic consciousness in individual or group terms, when he notes (1982: 111) that it seems "...to be important for the study of political events to retain a concept of meaningful political action. Individuals and groups of individuals act. Systems do not. On this level it seems to me that the actual formation of groups and classes as political actors must take account not merely of their objective interests in the industrial and economic sphere but of their objective and subjective interests in the spheres of the reproduction of labor and collective consumption. Men and women that is, act collectively and consciously, not solely in relation to their position in the productive system, but in relation to housing and educational opportunities and to the forces of law and order. In all these spheres they organise for conflict."

The task therefore is to describe how ethnicity articulates with these factors to produce the sort of local level ethnic politics described in this study. The stress in the study on identity does not detract from



the potential for developing a more political analysis than was done here - after all, any analysis of political action needs to be able to say why people mobilise - and it is suggested here that enhancement of identity can be a mobilising force.

What must be concluded, is that however detailed the delineation of the forms of ethnic identification, and the objective and subjective elements of associational behaviour, if that takes place within the context of an inadequate framework, then that ultimately will decide the usefulness of the analysis.

Ethnogenesis, in this sense, has not provided an adequate framework for understanding ethnic associational behaviour, although the study of these associations in itself has yielded some interesting material.

Finally, it is worth returning to Pickvance's point that the focus of analysis in studies of this sort should be on issues, with organisations seen as the means of their expression and articulation rather than being seen as the focus in themselves. Because of the framework adopted, the 'issue' was defined in this study as primarily one of identity bargaining and change. It was argued that associations constituted both the mode of action and the structural context for confronting this issue. In that this struggle to change unacceptable identities and to politicise the form of identity bargaining via associational functioning, was argued to be taking place, then it is tempting to suggest that the issue was correctly identified.

The implication however, of the broader framework suggested in the critiques of this approach are that the issue was one of political power which was expressed in ethnic terms, not ethnicity expressed in political terms.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. This assumption of 'rationality' implies however that those people emphasising this ethnic allegiance are able to determine that this ethnic allegiance is objectively in their best interest. This does not account for the operation of false consciousness where ethnic allegiance maybe fostered as a legitimate organisational mechanism by the dominant ethnic (and economic) group in order to preclude organisation on a class basis. This is forcefully argued by de Lepervanche (1980 : 34) when she suggests that "The ethnic behaviour of non Anglo-saxon minorities in countries such as the U.K. , U.S.A. and Australia is an expression of their consciousness of Anglo-saxon hegemony ... although the expression of social consciousness is in a cultural (ethnic) idiom against Anglo-saxon cultural dominance, it must be remembered that Anglo-saxon hegemony is historically grounded in class domination and in specific relations between capital and introduced migrant labour." This point will be further developed in the conclusion.
2. To talk of 'choice' in this context is to emphasis the argument made earlier that ethnic identification at a group level, in itself does not necessarily lead to political activity. Rather, this activity requires a decision to be made to use ethnicity as the basis of political action. It could be argued however, that the use of 'choice' in the context of responses to perceived oppression and group devaluation is to mis-represent the virulence of that oppression.
3. This view of participation as a conditional means to an end does not adequately account for situations where participation is equated with power and where support for participation is based on a desire to change institutions over the longer term (Miller &

Rein, 1975; Rose & Hanmer 1975) however.

4. Although later formulations of the reasons underlying participation are more sophisticated, in terms of distinguishing between 'threat' and 'opportunity' motives (Henderson & Thomas, 1980); or in identifying the importance of the effects of citizen participation on government agencies, and the subsequent effects on the form of participation (Sandercock, 1978); or in distinguishing between participation as a form of community socio-therapy, as a form of market research and also as a form of power (Graycar, 1977), the basic formulation presented here is nevertheless confirmed.
5. As this study is concerned with Asian and West Indian associations in Bristol, models of associational style and structure are drawn only from the literature concerned with these groups. Given that the comparison being explored is between association structure and function representative of ethnic categories and ethnic groups, this approach clearly makes the assumption that Asian associations are representative of ethnic group associations and are comparable with those found in for example, the Polish and Chinese communities.
6. This is however, a too static view of social organisation in Indian and Pakistani communities, which pays too little attention to the way that political action, industrial action, and the reworking of British born Asians identities may contribute to a growing ambiguity. See appendix for some elaboration on this.
7. Or a culture which does not generate tight organisational structures.
8. See appendix for a fuller development of the ethnic category/ethnic group distinction.
9. This descriptive material was gathered by a series of interviews with executive committee members of the associations, with members and/or 'clients' where possible, and by reference to primary sources such as minutes of meetings of the associations, applications for Urban Aid funding, reports to the Bristol Council for Racial Equality, and other internal discussion documents and memoranda, where available.

In addition to the use of interviews and primary sources (which is commented on in detail in Chapter 6) a number of other approaches to data collection, rather more problematic than use of primary sources were taken. As this is also covered in more detail in chapter 6, it will be simply noted here that these approaches primarily involved observation while a member of the St. Pauls Community Workers Group; a member of the Bristol Council for Racial Equality; involvement in a consultant capacity on service delivery in St. Pauls with Avon Social Services and Avon Probation and After Care; involvement as consultant to the Bristol Council of Churches research project on St. Pauls, with special reference to the St. Barnabas issue; and by acting as the Bristol Polytechnic Department of Economics and Social Science representative to the Caribbean Community Enterprise 'access to education' workshop.

In this chapter, quotes not attributed to a written source are from transcripts of interviews which were produced either by taping the interviews, or more usually, making a transcript from notes, within 24 hours of the interview taking place.

10. See footnote 9 and Chapter 6 for detail on these different approaches.
11. The importance of the workplace as an arena for Asian groups to define and re-define their relationship to the State and whites generally, (John, 1969), and to challenge stereotypes in perceived identity; such as the passivity of Asian women (the Imperial Typewriter and Grunwick Strikes for example Race Today July 1974 : 201-5; Race Today March 1975; 60-64; 'U.K. Commentary - Race, Class and the State (2)', Race and Class XI, 1, 1977, and 'U.K. Commentary; Grunwick (2) 'Race and Class' XI, 3, 1978) cannot be underestimated. On this question of challenging a presumption of passivity, are the important instances of Asian communities either retaliating against racist attacks, as in Southall in July 1981 (J. Rex ' The 1981 Urban Riots in Britain' International Journal of Urban and Regional Research

6, 1, March 1982); or engaging in pre-emptive defensive actions such as that undertaken by members of the United Black Youth League (The Bradford 12) in Bradford in July 1981 (Race Today 14, 4, August/September 1982.)

Critically this issue of the lack of a concentration of Asian workers in particular, but also West Indian workers, affects conclusions as to the viability of a 'black unity' approach to political action made in this study, and must be seen as a severe limitation on the ability to generalise from this study as to the viability of this approach. There is clear evidence from elsewhere that where Asian and West Indian workers, even though subject to management policies which tend to exacerbate differences between the groups can identify common concern, then they are capable of taking action together ('The State of Play at Fords' Race Today 14, 3, May/June 1982).

12. This is an area in which some potential richness in the material gathered in the study was lost, which could have made for a more complete analysis of the functioning of the associations. In a sense the omission was due to the narrowness of focus generated by the conceptual framework adopted - an issue developed in the conclusion and appendix. The situation as found in this study, where C.R.E. officers held senior executive positions in the most militant West Indian associations and acted to some degree outside the framework of organisational constraints which Hill and Issacharoff (1971) identified as being a serious limitation on personnel whose function was generally defined as 'consensus maintenance'.

The present study also calls into question the findings of Katznelson (1970 : 441-2) on the functioning of the C.R.C. in Nottingham where he suggests that the C.R.C. was not only unrepresentative but "...muffled immigrant protest and divided the coloured population.

The politicisation of the black population is not only not encouraged, but has been actively discouraged; stability and harmony are stressed at the expense of political organisation." The role of the Community Relations Officers (Employment) and (Education) in politicising the issues of education and employment from a position of legitimacy within black organisations did not only create a situation different to that described by Katznelson. It also created a situation in which the notion of the C.R.C. or C.R.E. and its officers creating a 'buffering' facility or providing a mediating service between groups, as described by Katznelson (1970) and Lawrence (1974) became more complex as these officers' direct involvement created a sub organisational style within the C.R.E., as well as more complex in the way referred to in the text.

## APPENDIX

### THE ETHNIC CATEGORY/GROUP DIMENSION

Both the discussion on ethnic groups and the discussion on ethnic associations, contained reference to the distinction between ethnic categories and ethnic groups. Following from this, the characteristics presumed to exist, in associations which were representative of an ethnic category or an ethnic group were noted. It was hypothesised that if this were so, then it ought to be possible by reference to associational structure and functioning, to say that if a particular association was a 'group' type association located within a collectivity that had been defined as a 'category', then this could provide evidence of a process of ethnic group formation - the transformation of an ethnic category or a portion of it, into an ethnic group.

The outline of the limitations of the concept which underpins the need to make this distinction between types of collectivities, ethnogenesis, contains inter alia a critique of the employment of this device for distinguishing between types of collectivity. This tends to be overshadowed by this discussion however, and it is worth clarifying how this study contributes to the argument about how collectivities are to be classified. (See Fenton (1982) for a brief summary of the argument).

Lyon (1972, 1972/3) suggests that the important difference between collectivities was that in some cases they were encompassed by an externally constructed and maintained boundary while in other cases they were encompassed by a self constructed and self maintained boundary. The boundary of exclusion marked a 'racial' group and the boundary of inclusion marked an 'ethnic' group. The criterion of a racial group was that their structural separateness was a consequence of social exclusion within a cultural framework which they shared; while for an ethnic group, their structural separateness was voluntary and related to cultural distinctiveness.

As a way of describing the status of West Indians and Asians in the U.K., the proposal had several weaknesses. As Fenton (1982) points out, "wherever there are some groups which we commonly call ethnic or racial groups (or at least where these groups are in some form of subordinate position), there is always some combination of imposition and self selection".

Additionally, on factual grounds there is little case for suggesting that West Indians share a common cultural framework with whites in the U.K. and that Asians are more like each other culturally than they are like white British, or rather that the order of difference between sub groups of Asians is less than that between Asians as a whole and white British.

Advances on this formulation have been suggested (Wallman 1978, Brass 1976, McKay & Lewins 1978, Banton 1977) which focus on boundary aspects or internal collectivity aspects. For Brass (1976), objective cultural difference is a necessary but not sufficient condition for the creation of ethnic communities. For Brass an ethnic category reflects an attribution definition in which membership of a category is indicated by clearly distinguishable cultural markers, but where the members place no value on those markers.

An ethnic community on the other hand, involves a collectivity which is objectively distinct and conscious of that distinctiveness and which uses the symbols of distinctiveness to create internal cohesion and to differentiate itself from other similar groups including other ethnic groups. Thus ethnic communalism involves group identity formation.

For McKay & Lewins (1978) this difference between collectivities relates to the degree of ethnic consciousness present in each form of collectivity. An ethnic category is characterised by members for whom ethnic identity is only one form of identification - a situation in which members are ethnically aware. An ethnic group is characterised by a situation where ethnic traits are a more salient feature in the creation of identity. Lian (1982) picks up this point when noting that the forging



of ethnic unity, or in McKay & Lewins terms', transforming awareness into consciousness, is a strategic act pursued in a context of ascription and adversity.

Again, Wallman (1978) acknowledges these factors when she notes that the group/category distinction (or ethnic group/racial group distinction in her terms) is caused not by the presence of objective difference but is an effect of subjective differentiation. Ethnicity involves not only a felt boundary between groups which marks difference, but also the meaning put upon that difference. She goes on to note (1978 : 204) that "...cognate populations lumped together by the opposition or characterisation of others do not necessarily begin to identify together ... a likely effect will be a proliferation or enhancement of the boundaries within (the category)...".

The crucial task therefore is to understand the social meaning attached to difference. In this sense the criteria of difference and the boundaries built on them are resources deployed for practical or symbolic purposes.

This study, in attempting to assess the usefulness of the concept of ethnogenesis, was concerned with measuring whether it was possible, in the terms used here, for a category or a portion of it, to transform itself into a group by renegotiating the meaning of the boundary or specific boundary markers. It was trying to assess therefore whether there were qualitative differences between the way that people characterised as ethnic category members behaved organisationally and politically, and the way ethnic group members behaved.

From the literature, came the hypothesis that West Indian communities represent a category whereas Asians represent a group, and that this is reflected in the difference between the individualistic associational style of the West Indians and the collectivist and ethnic solidarity characteristics of the Asian associations.

The point was also made in Chapter 2 that the implication of this sort of conceptualisation was that West Indians engaged in boundary negotiation and change activities would be challenging conceptions of individual and

group identity held by the majority group and demanding that a positive self constructed ethnic identity be legitimated, whereas for Asians engaging in political action, the legitimisation of ethnic identity was not at issue.

The study suggests that this conceptualisation is misleading in its oversimplification, and that West Indians and Asians cannot be simply distinguished along a category/group dimension.

There were clear differences of opinion in the Asian associations as to what constituted ethnic interests, and very importantly, much associational activity of Asian sub groups could be seen to be as fundamental a challenge to majority group conceptions of the nature of Asian ethnicity as were West Indian challenges. There is little room in the literature on this issue to account for the fact that people already considered to belong to an ethnic group may wish to re-define the essence of their ethnicity. In some cases ethnicity is affirmed or marked by reference to language, religion and custom; in other cases it is marked by reference to a shared experience of colonial status and the historical fact of imperialism. There is similarly also in some cases a shift of emphasis away from affirming ethnicity by reference to a real or fictive shared past, to characterising ethnicity in terms of a common lack of political or economic power.

It is true that some West Indian associations covered by this study, acted in their formulation of group interest, as an ethnic association may have been expected to do from the literature, but that is not to say that there was one ethnic style of associational behaviour either.

The conceptualisation of the group/category difference as generally articulated in the literature surveyed is ahistorical and apolitical, and assumes a static view of ethnic identity.

What we can say from this study is that some West Indian associations representing a portion of the West Indian population in Bristol acted in the same way as organisations characterised as ethnic group organisations have acted in other studies.

They showed a high level of political consciousness, and did not necessarily represent their ethnicity as having to do with a separate culture. It had to do with a particular perception of the social meaning of difference, and thus was concerned with a politicising of the collectivity and a taking over of the ascriptive boundary, such that entity characteristics were emphasised using a radically different framework from the majority groups framework from which the boundary emanated.

It is a complex issue, and the fact that there are qualitative differences between collectivities in terms of their self perception and the degree of political and cultural consciousness needs to be explained - as does the fact that people change, and become politicised under particular conditions. What the study shows hopefully, is that the framework in which to measure these changes needs to be more rigorous and grounded in a more sensitive historical and political analysis, than is currently the case with much of the group/category literature.

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